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LIVY

XXX—XXXIII

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LIVY

XXX-XXXIII

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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PREFACE

Livy has an established position in the curriculum of many colleges. The purpose of the present edition is to offer a new portion of the text of Livy's history, in response to the desire of many instructors for an alternative to the early years of the Hannibalic War. The War with Philip presents situations of great significance because of the contact in that war of Greek with Roman. As material for training students in the reading of Latin, as well as for presenting the historical and literary qualities of the author, the books included in the present edition are particularly attractive. Flamininus, as a hero, cannot take the place of Hannibal, but the variety of the characters active during the period largely offsets this weakness. The end of the Second Punic War with its romance of Sophonisba and the fall of Hannibal has been included for its inherent interest. The introduction and notes are intended to give only such explanatory matter as seems fairly essential to an understanding of the text leaving to the instructor the development of all other points. The text used is, in the main, that of the Weissenborn-Mueller edition of 1898 in the Teubner text series. What few changes there are from that text are in the direction of a closer approximation to the readings of the best manuscripts. In the construction of the commentary, the annotated edition of Weissenborn, revised by Mueller in 1883, has been freely consulted. Grammatical references in the notes are to Allen and Greenough's *New Latin Grammar* (Boston, 1916).

INTRODUCTION

LIVY

Livy was an enthusiastic republican when imperialism was already in the saddle. By his birth in a thrifty provincial town, probably too by inheritance from an aristocratic ancestry, and certainly by the inclination of his own character, he was a thoroughgoing conservative. For him, the old Roman government of the early days, the old Roman training, the old heroes of the Republic, were cherished ideals, made doubly admirable by contrast with the men and manners of his own time. So it was for him a congenial task to write the history of the Roman Republic. He loved the work: he says so himself in his preface, and no one can read his history without being assured that he speaks the truth. And to the work he brought the ability of a master story teller. He did not pretend to contribute to history the results of a fresh investigation. Perfectly familiar with what had been written in prose and poetry about his country's past, he set himself to write it down in such fashion that others might see as he did the charm and the romance and the splendor of it. Largely under the influence of tradition, he hints at a moral purpose in his work; always it is primarily the picturesque rather than the merely instructive that he discovers and preserves.

Titus Livius was born (either in 59 B.C. or in 57 B.C.) at Patavium, a town of northern Italy proverbial among the Romans for its rigid, old-fashioned morality, and even his removal to the brilliant, distracting capital of the world could not efface in Livy the republican simplicity that was

bred in him. Not that he was ever the uncouth fanatic: his opinions and his politics were both maintained with a native courtesy that endeared him even to the great imperial prince Augustus. And he was always generous and fair to those whom he could not admire.

The facts of his life that are known are very few. His friendship with Augustus indicates that, at Rome, he lived with men of prominence; everything goes to show that his life was a literary one. The writing of his history was in itself a monumental task and there is mention also of a dialogue on philosophy and of a treatise on rhetoric. The fact that this treatise was in the form of a letter to his son and the casual mention by Seneca of a son-in-law are the only hints that we have of his family. He was surely a man of some repute, for Pliny tells of a citizen of Gades who came all the way from Spain simply to see Livy. He died at Patavium in 17 A.D.

LIVY'S HISTORY

The history that has made Livy's name one of the most famous that have come down from antiquity began with the mythical origin of Rome and ended with the death of Drusus in 9 B.C. This event could hardly have been the end that Livy planned: death probably fixed it for him. The work was divided into 142 books, of which all but thirty-five have been lost. The first ten and numbers twenty-one through forty are preserved entire, numbers forty-one through forty-five in part. Livy published the history in sections and the fact that these sections seem, in the early part of the work at least, to have consisted of ten books each, has been the reason for their familiar characterization: the decades of Livy. The first decade was published between 27 and 25 B.C., the third after 19 B.C., and the 21st book after the death of Augustus in 14 A.D.

Epitomes of all the books except the 136th and the 137th, made at an early date, have been preserved in a manuscript of Florus.

Livy makes no boast of being a critical historian. Occasionally he questions the accuracy of his predecessors, thereby leaving the impression that, to some extent at least, he was in the habit of checking up their statements by comparison with such documents as were accessible to him, for example the records of yearly officials and events kept by the pontifices and magistrates. The most important of these, the Annales Maximi, were kept by the Pontifex Maximus and, according to Cicero, listed events day by day, while Cato adds the interesting information that they recorded also eclipses and the price of grain. Funeral orations of important men were frequently preserved, and these, with their tendency to eulogize the hero even at the expense of strict accuracy, may often have furnished dramatic if somewhat partisan material. There were speeches also preserved in one way or another and treaties and decrees, and there is reason to believe that Livy consulted these various sources of information. More often he follows his "literary" sources unquestioningly. He was chiefly concerned with painting a great and compelling picture of Rome, and his method was the straightforward method of the instinctive story teller. From historians who had already covered the ground he culled the material for his narrative, following now one, now another and not often stopping for comparisons. Such historians were Polybius, Q. Fabius Pictor, L. Cincius Alimentus, Q. Valerius Antias, L. Coelius Antipater. In the fourth decade Polybius was his chief source, for Polybius was a Greek, brought to Rome in 169 B.C., and wrote with a knowledge of Greek affairs. His history, written in his native tongue, covered the period from 218 B.C. to 146. The other writers were "annalists," rather soulless and often inaccurate recorders of events arranged

chronologically. They hardly merit the name of historians, but Livy seems to some extent to have followed Q. Claudius Quadrigarius and Q. Valerius Antias, chroniclers of Sulla's day, in this fourth decade.

LITERARY BACKGROUND

It is difficult if not impossible to place Livy in any particular historical school, but to appreciate him at his true worth it is essential to understand something of the tradition of history writing before his day.

In history as in nearly every branch of culture the Roman sat at the feet of Greek teachers. This means that to a certain extent at least the general lines of historical form were laid down for him and that we should expect to find (as we do) certain similarities between the work of Livy and that of his Greek forebears. To cite a simple example, the speeches which appear so unequivocally reported by him, when we know that in large part they must be imaginary, do not cause the shock of surprise that they would were we unfamiliar with similar speeches in Thucydides and with his apology for them: "I have put into each speaker's mouth what is suitable to the occasion, expressed as I thought he might have expressed it, trying at the same time to the best of my powers to reproduce the essence of what he really said." (I.22) And this is from the historian who claims to have written nothing that he had not seen himself or verified from others, the most scientifically exact of the Greek historians.

Such a detail as these speeches gives life and dramatic color to an historical narrative and makes us recall the ultimate origin of Greek history writing. For the father of history was not Herodotus but Homer. Epic poetry, with its glorious mixture of history and imagination, written to please rather than to instruct, glorifying the men and

happenings of a golden past—from this came history as Herodotus knew it. Epic poetry was the product of the early age of Greece. It gave birth to its more sober prosaic child in the fifth century. In the meantime the less imaginative recorders of events had devised chronology. Hellanicus (5th cent. B.C.) is the name that we associate chiefly with the creation of a chronological framework for events, based on the lists of priests and magistrates.

To Herodotus history was still the grand and romantic story, partly true but never scorning what was interesting in tradition simply because it was not so. But as history became more contemporary and foreswore the mythological age to interest itself in the things of its own day, accuracy was more easily tested and misrepresentation more offensive. Thucydides wrote of the Peloponnesian war through which he lived. He established his chronology with care. He strove to instruct and specifically avoided the writing of a prize declamation. But still the force of the epic is not wholly lost even in Thucydides. His dramatic technique, his magnificent episodes, his presentation of characters in action, all of these are distant echoes of Homer.

After Thucydides came the schools of rhetoric and the romantic age of Alexander. The former, led by Isocrates, tricked out all literature in festival garb, often gorgeous but nearly always spurious. Literature became more and more a matter of form and form became more and more crystallized. History did not lend itself except in short episodes to rhetorical handling and did not flourish. Ephorus, a pupil of Isocrates and a writer of universal history, was the greatest exponent of this rhetorical school in the field of history. His contemporary, Theopompus, who continued the history of Thucydides and chronicled also the times of Philip, seems to have been even more blatantly rhetorical and to have expanded his digressions, dealing with myths, geography and ethnology, to inordinate

lengths. Time has happily destroyed the works of both these rhetoricians.

The quality of the work of Theopompus was congenial to the taste of the writers of the age of Alexander. The great adventurer's career furnished the so-called historians with just the matter that they needed to bring their art to the fore again. Romance was in the air. The actual achievements of Alexander and the wonders that this expedition brought to light in strange new countries, romantic in themselves, fell into the hands of men trained in the schools of oratory to make every appeal to the interest and emotion of their hearers. Dramatic treatment had become part of the technique of the orator and the rhetorical historians used it with the fullest license. Personality was played up against a background of strange environment. Their object was not historical truth but romantic thrill. The result was that, unchecked by the need to be accurate, such rhetoricians as Cleitarchus at the close of the fourth century wrote histories that were little better than romantic fairy tales. The more sober recorders that accompanied Alexander and stuck seriously to their facts were little read for several centuries to come.

Such was the Greek heritage that came to the Romans when they had absorbed the Greek world. What history they had produced themselves was of a very different sort: it consisted of lists of events recorded by hard-headed, practical officials year by year, annals in the most literal sense of the word, whether kept in the record house or put into the crude form of consecutive narrative by untrained and unskilled historians. The official annals were public records, the most important, the Annales Maximi, drawn up by the Pontifex Maximus and later collected into eighty books. They of course have scant claim to be called history. But Q. Fabius Pictor, who lived in the latter half of the third century before Christ, conceived the idea of put-

ting the records into narrative form and thus became the first Roman historian. He wrote in Greek as did his younger contemporary, L. Cincius Alimentus, but they were followed by others in whom national pride was stronger and who used their native tongue. All of these however were primarily men of action, public officials or generals. By their side appear two poets, Naevius and Ennius, the former writing of the First Punic War in native Saturnian meter, the latter depicting all Roman history to his own time (early in the second century) in the imported hexameter. These epic poems show strongly the Greek influence but it is the earlier influence of the epic, not that of romantic history.

Among the annalists who wrote in Latin M. Porcius Cato stands out with special prominence. His chief claim to recognition lay in his record as a general and as censor, but the fact that he wrote a treatise on Agriculture and a prose history of Rome that showed at least the first traces of rhetorical form indicates the intrusion of the Greek influence. His work like his character was hard and dry, but the fragments that remain prove that it showed suspicious traces of artistic embellishment. At the same time, both Cato and his immediate successors, such as Cassius Hemina, Calpurnius Piso, and Sempronius Tuditanus, rigidly excluded what they did not believe and never consciously distorted their evidence.

A new epoch had meantime been marked at Rome by the arrival there of the Greek Polybius (205-123). He came as a hostage and remained as the friend of the great Scipio. Impressed by the worth and power of the Roman state, he wrote a comprehensive history of Rome with a twofold purpose, to show his countrymen what was the real Rome, and to produce a book which should portray the rise of the Roman empire with a study of the means and methods that made it possible. He had a serious aim and

scorned the Hellenistic rhetoric. The result was a sound and impressive history with something of a philosophic point of view and no mean understanding of political science.

Unfortunately, Polybius was on the whole too great to be at once a model for his contemporaries at Rome. Greek culture was absorbed by degrees and such annalists as Calpurnius Piso fell under the sway of the romantic writers of the Alexandrian age. For the most part they clung to the annalistic form but they were constantly embroidering the dull cloth of early Roman history with the figures of Romance and were filling in the background with masterly imagination. In the time of Sulla they began even to confine themselves to single epochs for the sake of dramatic unity and rhetorical finish. Coelius Antipater selected the second Punic War and Livy is indebted to him for considerable material—much of it presumably without foundation of facts, for we know that he was highly rhetorical and was said to be the first Latin writer to introduce speeches written by himself.

At the beginning of the last century before Christ appear the names of two historians that Livy cites frequently by name: Claudius Quadrigarius and Valerius Antias. That they were annalists is certain, that they were highly colored seems probable, and Livy himself is our authority for their inaccuracy. He criticizes Valerius sharply when his discovery of the value of Polybius leads him to abandon the Roman for the Greek. Nevertheless, in spite of the superficial effect of rhetoric, the succession of annalists, largely unknown to us now, maintained a tradition that in comparison with the Greek was actually severe. Little can be said of the writing of history for over a generation. Perhaps the productions of the period have all been lost to memory. More probably the period of social unrest was too absorbed in its own struggle for economic adjustment to suffer any great interest in the past or in the chronicling of it.

Yet all the while the great literary monuments of Greece were becoming in reality a part of Roman culture. Sallust and Cæsar, at opposite poles of style, produced short episodic histories, the former true to the Greek rhetorical standards, more intent on form than on truth, the latter reactionary in his rigid objectivity. Sallust even sought to emulate Thucydides in a longer history. But it was the Augustan age that saw the real flowering of the Roman genius when the Greek heritage had been truly absorbed. History in its earliest guise culminated for the Roman in Vergil, in its prosaic rôle in Livy. Neither of them is predominantly Greek but both of them show in almost every line that they have mastered the whole Greek tradition and reduced it to the service of the Roman muse. Livy's history is not romantic in either the early or the late Greek sense. Nor does it take either Herodotus or Thucydides for its consistent model. But with something of Herodotus' love for interesting digression and much of Thucydides' instinctive dramatic power, with the Roman urge for orderliness and comprehensive treatment, Livy has written a national prose epic with the majesty of Rome for its hero. He has followed no model slavishly but shows in his finished result the influence of all. It is one of the happy events of fortune that history was never reduced like oratory to the cramping straitjacket of a rhetorical mold.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND. 204 B.C.

Rome started as a settlement of shepherds on the Tiber. Before long she had become the head of a league of similar settlements banded together for defense against their neighbors, especially the Etruscans to the north. When the confederacy had defeated the Etruscans, they found the Roman leadership turned into actual supremacy. Little by little the growing state expanded throughout Italy, embracing the

other Italic tribes and the Greek settlements along the southern coasts of the peninsula. This conquest of Magna Graecia brought Rome into direct commercial conflict with Carthage, the great city of Phoenicians on the north coast of Africa which controlled the commerce of the Western Mediterranean, ruled over Sardinia and Corsica and most of Sicily and dominated Spain. War between the two states finally broke out on a comparatively trivial pretext in 264 B.C. It lasted twenty-three years and ended in a Roman victory. Rome took Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia, exacted a considerable indemnity, and made an agreement that the Carthaginian sphere of influence in Spain should not extend north of the Ebro River. Saguntum, to the south of the Ebro, was to be neutral territory.

By 219 B.C. Carthage had recovered her strength sufficiently to try results again. She opened the new war by attacking Saguntum. Unlike the first Punic War, the second was fought in large part in Italy. Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, led his troops over the Pyrenees and Alps and swept down into Italy, repeatedly defeating the Romans in important battles. After his greatest success at Cannae (216 B.C.) the situation for Rome was desperate, but Hannibal was not properly supported by the authorities at Carthage. There the commercial interests were working for peace at any price. Gradually the Romans recovered, intercepted reinforcements coming to Hannibal from Spain, and, under Scipio, carried the war into Africa. It is with this phase of the war that the thirtieth book of Livy begins. It tells the story of Rome's triumph over her traditional enemy.

By the end of the second war with Carthage, Rome controlled the commerce of the western Mediterranean. Her own coasts with their ports of entry were secure. The addition of the provinces, Sicily and Spain, and the destruction of the naval power of Carthage, left the comparatively

young republic the strongest single power in the civilized world, and thrust her immediately into commercial rivalry with the great powers of the east, with Macedon and Syria, with Rhodes and Pergamum and Egypt. For a country like Italy, dependent in large part on her imports of foreign supplies, her agricultural strength ruined by the long Carthaginian occupation, this commercial war could not fail to be intense. Moreover, the defeat of Carthage and the acquisition of Spain had given the Romans a taste of conquest. For the first time they were realizing their own strength and their new feeling of power, verging on arrogance, boded ill for the peace of the world.

But the advance of the Roman interests in the east was a very different problem from that presented by the occupation of Spain. The uncivilized tribes of the Spanish peninsula could be attacked and conquered one by one, but they could not be dealt with through diplomatic channels. In Greece and in Asia, Rome met civilizations far older than her own and statesmen schooled in all the finesse of diplomacy. Her immediate problem, therefore, was not the conquest of the East, but the establishment, through diplomatic means supported by arms, of a balance of power which should guarantee her commercial security. She might have been put to a great disadvantage save for one all-important fact: she brought to the struggle a unified power; she had to deal with a multitude of independent and intensely individualistic states.

The eastern Mediterranean had been made over by the conquest of Alexander and the subsequent shattering of his empire into more than a half dozen kingdoms and leagues struggling with each other. In Egypt the Ptolemies were secure; in Syria Antiochus was king and controlled the trade that came overland from the far east. The kingdom of Perganum under Attalus had extended its sway in Asia Minor and was a first-class naval power, mistress of the all-

important Dardanelles. Rhodes, the island republic, was her great rival on the sea, dividing with her the commercial supremacy of the eastern Mediterranean. Greece was split between several loosely knit confederacies or leagues and many independent towns, all overshadowed by the kingdom of Macedonia under Philip the Fifth. The situation in Greece deserves a further word.

With the national inability to unite except under external pressure, the Greeks had fallen apart after Alexander's death into many isolated units. Sparta and Athens were independent but well-nigh negligible. The cities of the Peloponnese, with some notable exceptions, had united to form the Achaean League, their neighbours across the Corinthian Gulf, the Aetolian League. The Boeotians and the Acarnanians had less substantial leagues of their own. And, thanks to this division in Greece, Philip of Macedon, overlord of Thessaly, held the three great cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetria, and through these maintained a dominating position in the Greek world.

With this complex of governments Rome had now to deal by one means or another. Her commercial needs made isolation impossible. Obviously a bare-faced policy of conquest, even if it had been desirable, was out of the question, and Rome soon found herself committed to what amounted to a doctrine of foreign action which was to be her guiding principle for half a century. It was a doctrine never precisely formulated but in practice consistently observed, a policy of intermeddling, its purpose to maintain a balance of power. Her care for the future was to see to it that the powers of the eastern Mediterranean should preserve an equilibrium that would prevent any one of them from gaining such power as to threaten in any way the provisioning of Italy from the east, or to overshadow Rome as the great single power of the Mediterranean world, the natural umpire in the disputes of the others.

Unquestionably Greece offered to Rome the most inviting opportunity to assert her power as conceived in the new diplomatic doctrine. At no time did the Greek states need much prompting to quarrel with one another, and in 200 B.C. Philip of Macedon was building up what threatened to be a real world power. The Greek states were already alarmed. So was Attalus of Pergamum, and so was the Republic of Rhodes. Egypt was aroused because Philip was allied with her neighbor Antiochus, and Antiochus was eager to extend his territories at the expense of the Ptolemies. It was therefore in response to the expressed desire of many of the eastern nations that Rome took one of the most significant steps in her history and entered into the diplomatic mazes of the Hellenic concert, whence she was to emerge after two centuries mistress absolute of the Hellenic world.

Rome had already a pretext for humbling Philip: he had promised help to Hannibal in Rome's recent days of peril. With Egypt she had had a treaty alliance since 273 B.C. In Pergamum and Rhodes, both fearful of Philip and loud in their demands for the freedom of the seas, Rome found ready allies. In Greece the response was not so eager. Athens and the Epirotes inclined toward Rome through hatred of Philip or through fear for the future. In the other states, diplomacy had to wait for the prestige of arms. And Acarnania, at least, was actively on the side of Philip.

Roman distrust of Macedonian intentions received definite form in 215 B.C. when Hannibal concluded a treaty with Philip. The king promised two hundred ships at a time when the Carthaginians most needed them, and was to receive in return very tangible help in his project of subjecting Greece to his power. The ambassadors who concluded this treaty were intercepted on their way from Italy to Greece by the Roman blockading fleet. The result was

an extension of the blockade of Italy to include Greece, and the establishment of a special command in Macedonia. The war was not prosecuted vigorously by Rome, whose energies were all needed against Carthage, but Philip was kept busy. The Aetolian League joined the Roman commander and Attalus sent a small fleet to his aid. But the Aetolians were dissatisfied with the indifferent attitude of Rome, Attalus was called back to defend his own borders, and in 205 B.C. the Aetolians made a separate peace with Philip, followed soon after by the Romans, whose object had been to keep the Macedonian king from helping Carthage, and who could now bide their time for dealing with him more thoroughly.

LIVY'S STYLE

The quality of picturesqueness in Livy's writing is very largely the outcome of certain stylistic characteristics, ways of expressing himself, that are neither those of Cæsar nor those of Cicero. The crisp curtness of the former and the elaborate rounded periods of the latter are alike absent from the pages of Livy. In their place is a somewhat rambling style, presenting to the reader the successive phrases of the story or picture in just the order in which Livy wishes them to be grasped. The effect is one of almost naïve simplicity of narration, the result of the purest art. Furthermore, there is a richness of expression and of poetical coloring that gives life and brilliance to the story. Livy was a rhetorician but a rhetorician of the simple, not of the florid school. His style is distinctly different from the Ciceronian which he recommended as a model, but only barely suggestive of the concise, abrupt, rugged Latin of Tacitus which marks the culmination of the changes begun even before the days of Livy.

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LIVY

XXX—XXXIII

TITI LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER XXX

I. Cn. Servilius et C. Servilius consules — sextus decimus is annus belli Punici erat — cum de re publica belloque et provinciis ad senatum rettulissent, censuerunt patres, ut consules inter se compararent sortirenturve, uter Bruttios adversus Hannibalem, uter Etruriam ac Ligures provinciam haberet; cui Bruttii evenissent, exercitum a P. Sempronio acciperet; P. Sempronius — ei quoque enim pro consule imperium in annum prorogabatur — P. Licinio succederet. is Romam reverteretur, bello quoque bonus habitus ad cetera, quibus nemo ea tempestate instructior civis habebatur, congestis omnibus humanis ab natura fortunaque bonis. nobilis idem ac dives erat; forma viribusque corporis excellebat; facundissimus habebatur seu causa oranda, seu in senatu et apud populum suadendi ac dissuadendi locus esset; iuris pontificii peritissimus; super haec bellicae quoque laudis consulatus compotem fecerat. quod in Bruttiis provincia, idem in Etruria ac Liguribus decretum: M. Cornelius novo consuli tradere exercitum iussus; ipse prorogato imperio Galliam provinciam obtineret cum legionibus iis, quas L. Scribonius priore anno habuisset. sortiti deinde provincias: Caepioni Bruttii, Servilio Gemino

Etruria evenit. tum praetorum provinciae in sortem
9 coniectae; iuris dictionem urbanam Paetus Aelius,
Sardiniam P. Lentulus, Siciliam P. Villius, Ariminum
cum duabus legionibus — sub Sp. Lucretio eae fuerant
10 — Quinctilius Varus est sortitus. et Lucretio prorogatum imperium, ut Genuam oppidum a Magone
Poeno dirutum exaedificaret. P. Scipioni non temporis,
sed rei gerendae fine, donec debellatum in Africa
11 foret, prorogatum imperium est, decretumque, ut supplicatio fieret, quod is in Africam provinciam traiecisset, ut ea res salutaris populo Romano ipsique
duci atque exercitui esset. II. In Siciliam tria milia
militum sunt scripta, et quia, quod roboris ea provincia
habuerat, in Africam transvectum fuerat, et quia, ne
qua classis ex Africa traiceret, quadraginta navibus
2 custodiri placuerat Siciliae maritumam oram. tredecim
novas naves Villius secum in Siciliam duxit; ceterae
3 in Sicilia veteres refectae. huic classi M. Pomponius,
prioris anni praetor, prorogato imperio praepositus
novos milites ex Italia advectos in naves imposuit.
4 parem navium numerum Cn. Octavio, praetori item
prioris anni, cum pari iure imperii ad tuendam Sardiniae oram patres decreverunt; Lentulus praetor duo
5 milia militum dare in naves iussus. et Italiae ora,
quia incertum erat, quo missuri classem Carthaginienses forent — videbantur autem, quidquid nudatum
praesidiis esset, petituri — M. Marcio, praetori prioris
6 anni, cum totidem navibus tuenda data est. tria milia
militum in eam classem ex decreto patrum consules
scripserunt et duas legiones urbanas ad incerta belli.
7 Hispaniae cum exercitibus imperioque veteribus imperatoribus, L. Lentulo et L. Manlio Acidino, decretae.
viginti omnino legionibus et centum sexaginta navibus
longis res Romana eo anno gesta.

8 Praetores in provincias ire iussi. consulibus im-

peratum, ut, priusquam ab urbe proficiscerentur, ludos magnos facerent, quos T. Manlius Torquatus dictator in quintum annum vovisset, si eodem statu res publica staret. et novas religiones excitabant in animis 9
hominum prodigia ex pluribus locis nuntiata. aurum in Capitolio corvi non lacerasse tantum rostris crediti sed etiam edisse; mures Antii coronam auream adrosere; circa Capuam omnem agrum locustarum vis 10
ingens, ita ut, unde advenissent, parum constaret, complevit. eculeus Reate cum quinque pedibus natus; 11
Anagniae sparsi primum ignes in caelo, dein fax ingens arsit; Frusinone arcus solem tenui linea am- 12
plexus est, circulum deinde ipsum maior solis orbis extrinsecus inclusit; Arpini terra campestri agro in
ingentem sinum consedit. consulum alteri primam 13
hostiam immolanti caput iocinoris defuit. ea prodigia maioribus hostiis procurata; editi a collegio pontificum dei, quibus sacrificaretur.

III. His transactis consules praetoresque in provincias profecti. omnibus tamen, velut eam sortitis, Africae cura erat, seu quia ibi summam rerum belli-
que verti cernebant seu ut Scipioni gratificarentur, in quem tum omnis versa civitas erat. itaque non ex 2
Sardinia tantum, sicut ante dictum est, sed ex Sicilia quoque et Hispania vestimenta frumentumque, et arma etiam ex Sicilia et omne genus commeatus eo portabantur. nec Scipio ullo tempore hiemis belli 3
opera remiserat, quae multa simul undique eum circumstabant: Uticam obsidebat; castra Hasdrubalis in
conspectu erant; Carthaginienses deduxerant naves, 4
classem paratam instructamque ad commeatus intercipiendos habebant. inter haec ne Syphacis quidem reconciliandi curam ex animo miserat, si forte iam satias amoris in uxore ex multa copia eum cepisset. ab Syphace magis pacis cum Carthaginiensibus con- 5

diciones, ut Romani Africa, Poeni Italia excederent, quam, si bellaretur, spes ulla desciturum adferebatur.
6 haec per nuntios acta magis equidem crediderim — et ita pars maior auctores sunt — quam ipsum Syphacem, ut Antias Valerius prodit, in castra Romana
7 ad conloquium venisse. primo eas condiciones imperator Romanus vix auribus admisit; postea, ut causa probabilis suis commeandi foret in castra hostium, mollius eadem illa abnuere ac spem facere saepius ultro citroque agitantibus rem conventuram.

8 Hibernacula Carthaginiensium, congesta temere ex agris materia exaedificata, lignea ferme tota erant.
9 Numidae praecipue harundine textis storeaque pars maxima tectis passim nullo ordine, quidam, ut sine imperio occupatis locis, extra fossam etiam vallumque
10 habitabant. haec relata Scipioni spem fecerant castra hostium per occasionem incendendi.

IV. Cum legatis, quos mitteret ad Syphacem, calonum loco primos ordines spectatae virtutis atque
2 prudentiae servili habitu mittebat, qui, dum in conloquio legati essent, vagi per castra, alius alia aditus exitusque omnes, situm formamque et universorum castrorum et partium, qua Poeni, qua Numidae haberent, quantum intervalli inter Hasdrubalis ac regia
3 castra esset, specularentur moremque simul noscerent stationum vigiliarumque, nocte an interdiu opportuniores insidiantibus essent; et inter crebra conloquia alii atque alii de industria, quo pluribus omnia nota essent,
4 mittebantur. cum saepius agitata res certiorem spem pacis in dies et Syphaci et Carthaginiensibus per eum faceret, legati Romani vetitos se reverti ad imperato-
5 rem aiunt, nisi certum responsum detur: proinde, seu ipsi staret iam sententia, promeret, seu consulendus Hasdrubal et Carthaginienses essent, consuleret; tempus esse aut pacem componi aut bellum naviter

geri. dum consulitur Hasdrubal ab Syphace, ab Has- 6
drubale Carthaginienses, et speculatores omnia visendi
et Scipio ad comparanda ea, quae in rem erant, tem-
pus habuit. et ex mentione ac spe pacis neglegentia, 7
ut fit, apud Poenos Numidamque orta cavendi, ne
quid hostile interim paterentur. tandem relatum re- 8
sponsum quibusdam, quia nimis cupere Romanus pa-
cem videbatur, iniquis per occasionem adiectis; quae
peropportune cupienti tollere indutias Scipioni causam
praebuere. ac nuntio regis, cum relaturum se ad con- 9
silium dixisset, postero die respondit se uno frustra
tendente nulli alii pacem placuisse; renuntiaret igitur
nullam aliam spem pacis quam relictis Carthaginien-
sibus Syphaci cum Romanis esse. ita tollit indutias, 10
ut libera fide incepta exsequeretur; deductisque navi-
bus — et iam veris principium erat — machinas tor-
mentaque, velut a mari adgressurus Uticam, imponit,
et duo milia militum ad capiendum quem antea te- 11
nuerat tumulum super Uticam mittit, simul ut ab eo,
quod parabat, in alterius rei curam converteret ho-
stium animos, simul ne qua, cum ipse ad Syphacem 12
Hasdrubalemque profectus esset, eruptio ex urbe et
impetus in castra sua relicta cum levi praesidio fieret.

V. His praeparatis advocatoque consilio et dicere
exploratoribus iussis, quae comperta adferrent, Masi-
nissaque, cui omnia hostium nota erant, postremo
ipse, quid pararet in proximam noctem, proponit;
tribunis edicit, ut, ubi praetorio dimisso signa con- 2
cinuissent, extemplo educerent castris legiones. ita ut 3
imperaverat signa sub occasum solis efferri sunt
coepta. ad primam ferme vigiliam agmen explicave-
runt; media nocte — septem enim milia itineris erant
— modico gradu ad castra hostium perventum est.
ibi Scipio partem copiarum Laelio Masinissamque ac 4
Numidas adtribuit et castra Syphacis invadere ignes-

que conicere iubet. singulos deinde separatim Laelium ac Masinissam deductos obtestatur, ut, quantum nox providentiae adimat, tantum diligentia expleant curaque; se Hasdrubalem Punicaque castra adgressurum; ceterum non ante coepturum, quam ignem in regiis castris conspexisset. neque ea res morata diu est; nam ut primis casis iniectus ignis haesit, extemplo proxima quaeque et deinceps continua amplexus totis se passim dissipavit castris. et trepidatio quidem, quantam necesse erat in nocturno effuso tam late incendio, orta est; ceterum fortuitum, non hostilem ac bellicum ignem rati esse, sine armis ad restinguendum incendium effusi in armatos incidere hostes, maxime Numidas ab Masinissa notitia regiorum castrorum ad exitus itinerum idoneis locis dispositos. multos in ipsis cubilibus semisomnos hausit flamma; multi in praecipiti fuga ruentes super alios alii in angustiis portarum obtriti sunt. VI. relucentem flammam primo vigiles Carthaginiensium, deinde excitati alii nocturno tumultu cum conspexissent, ab eodem errore credere et ipsi sua sponte incendium ortum, et clamor inter caedem et vulnera sublatus, an ex trepidatione nocturna esset confusis sensum veri adimebat. igitur pro se quisque inermes, ut quibus nihil hostile suspectum esset, omnibus portis, qua cuique proximum erat, ea modo, quae restinguendo igni forent, portantes, in agmen Romanum ruebant. quibus caesis omnibus praeterquam hostili odio, etiam ne quis nuntius refugeret, extemplo Scipio neglectas ut in tali tumultu portas invadit; ignibusque in proxima tecta coniectis effusa flamma primo velut sparsa pluribus locis reluxit, dein per continua serpens uno repente omnia incendio hausit. ambusti homines iumentaque foeda primum fuga, dein strage obstruebant itinera portarum; quos non oppresserat ignis, ferro

absumpti; binaque castra clade una deleta. duces tamen ambo et ex tot milibus armatorum duo milia peditum et quingenti equites semermes, magna pars saucii adflatique incendio effugerunt. caesa aut hausta flammis ad quadraginta milia hominum sunt, capta supra quinque milia, multi Carthaginiensium nobiles, undecim senatores; signa militaria centum septuaginta quattuor, equi Numidici supra duo milia septingenti; elephanti sex capti, octo ferro flammaque absumpti. magna vis armorum capta; ea omnia imperator Volcano sacrata incendit.

VII. Hasdrubal ex fuga cum paucis Afrorum urbem proximam petierat, eoque omnes, qui supererant, vestigia ducis sequentes se contulerant; metu deinde, ne dederetur Scipioni, urbe excessit. mox eodem patentibus portis Romani accepti; nec quicquam hostile, quia voluntate concesserant in dicionem, factum. duae subinde urbes captae direptaeque; ea praeda et quae castris incensis ex igne rapta erat militi concessa est. Syphax octo milium ferme inde spatio loco munito consedit; Hasdrubal Carthaginem contendit, ne quid per metum ex recenti clade mollius consuleretur. quo tantus primo terror est adlatus, ut omissa Utica Carthaginem crederent extemplo Scipionem obsessurum. senatum itaque sufetes, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos erat, vocaverunt. ibi tribus sententiis certatum est; una de pace legatos ad Scipionem decernebat, altera Hannibalem ad tuendam ab exitiabili bello patriam revocabat, tertia Romanae in adversis rebus constantiae erat: reparandum exercitum Syphacemque hortandum, ne bello absisteret, censebat. haec sententia, quia Hasdrubal praesens Barcinaeque omnes factionis bellum malebant, vicit. inde dilectus in urbe agrisque haberi coeptus, et ad Syphacem legati missi, summa ope et ipsum reparantem bellum, cum uxor

non iam ut ante blanditiis, satis potentibus ad animum amantis, sed precibus et misericordia valuisset,
9 plena lacrimarum obtestans, ne patrem suum patriamque proderet isdemque flammis Carthaginem, quibus
10 castra conflagrassent, absumi sineret. spem quoque opportune oblatam adferebant legati: quattuor milia Celtiberorum circa urbem nomine Obbam, ab conquisitoribus suis conducta in Hispania, egregiae iuventutis, sibi occurrisse, et Hasdrubalem prope diem ad-
11 fore cum manu haudquaquam contemnenda. igitur non benigne modo legatis respondit, sed ostendit etiam multitudinem agrestium Numidarum, quibus per eosdem dies arma equosque dedisset, et omnem iuven-
12 tutem adfirmat ex regno exciturum; scire incendio, non proelio cladem acceptam; eum bello inferiorem
13 esse, qui armis vincatur. haec legatis responsa; et post dies paucos rursus Hasdrubal et Syphax copias iunxerunt. is omnis exercitus fuit triginta ferme milium armatorum.

VIII. Scipionem, velut iam debellato, quod ad Syphacem Carthaginiensesque attineret, Uticae oppugnandae intentum, iamque machinas admoventem
2 muris avertit fama redintegrati belli; modicisque praesidiis ad speciem modo obsidionis terra marique relictis ipse cum robore exercitus ire ad hostes pergit.
3 primo in tumulo quattuor milia ferme distante ab castris regiis consedit; postero die cum equitatu in Magnos -- ita vocant — campos subiectos ei tumulo degressus succedendo ad stationes hostium lacessendo-
4 que levibus proeliis diem absumpsit. et per insequens biduum tumultuosis hinc atque illinc excursionibus in
5 vicem nihil dictu satis dignum fecerunt; quarto die in aciem utrimque descensum est. Romanus principes post hastatorum prima signa, in subsidiis triarios constituit; equitatum Italicum ab dextro cornu, ab

laevo Numidas Masinissamque opposuit. Syphax Has- 6
drubalque Numidis adversus Italicum equitatum, Carthaginiensibus contra Masinissam locatis Celtiberos in mediam aciem adversus signa legionum accepere. ita 7
instructi concurrunt. primo impetu simul utraque cornua, et Numidae et Carthaginienses, pulsi; nam neque Numidae, maxima pars agrestes, Romanum equitatum neque Carthaginienses, et ipse novus miles, Masinissam recenti super cetera victoria terribilem sustinuere. nudata utrimque cornibus Celtiberum acies stabat, 8
quod nec in fuga salus ulla ostendebatur locis ignotis, neque spes veniae ab Scipione erat, quem bene meritum de se et gente sua, mercennariis armis oppugnatum in Africam venissent. igitur circumfusis undique 9
hostibus alii super alios cadentes obstinate moriebantur; omnibusque in eos versis aliquantum ad fugam temporis Syphax et Hasdrubal praeceperunt. fatigatos caede diutius quam pugna victores nox oppressit.

IX. Postero die Scipio Laelium Masinissamque cum omni Romano et Numidico equitatu expeditisque militum ad persequendos Syphacem atque Hasdrubalem mittit; ipse cum robore exercitus urbes 2
circa, quae omnes Carthaginiensium dicionis erant, partim spe, partim metu, partim vi subigit. Cartha- 3
gini quidem erat ingens terror, et circumferentem arma Scipionem omnibus finitimis raptim perdomitis ipsam Carthaginem repente adgressurum credebant. itaque et muri reficiebantur propugnaculisque armabantur, et pro se quisque, quae diutinae obsidioni 4
tolerandae sunt, ex agris convehebat. rara mentio est 5
pacis, frequentior legatorum ad Hannibalem arcessendum mittendorum; pars maxima classem, quae ad 6
commeatus excipiendos parata erat, mittere iubent ad opprimendam stationem navium ad Uticam incaute agentem: forsitan etiam navalia castra, relicta cum

levi praesidio, oppressuros. in hoc consilium maxime inclinant; legatos tamen ad Hannibalem mittendos censent: quippe classi ut felicissime gerantur res, parte aliqua levari Uticae obsidionem; Carthaginem ipsam qui tueatur, neque imperatorem alium quam Hannibalem neque exercitum alium quam Hannibalis superesse. deductae ergo postero die naves simul et legati in Italiam profecti; raptimque omnia stimulante fortuna agebantur; et in quo quisque cessasset, prodi ab se salutem omnium rebatur.

Scipio gravem iam spoliis multarum urbium exercitum trahens, captivis aliaque praeda in vetera castra ad Uticam missis, iam in Carthaginem intentus occupat relictum fuga custodum Tuneta. abest ab Carthagine quindecim milia ferme passuum locus cum operibus tum suapte natura tutus et qui et ab Carthagine conspici et praebere ipse prospectum cum ad urbem tum ad circumfusum mare urbi possit. X. inde, cum maxime vallum Romani iacerent, conspecta classis hostium est Uticam a Carthagine petens. igitur omisso opere pronuntiatum iter, signaque raptim ferri sunt coepta, ne naves in terram et obsidionem versae ac minime navali proelio aptae opprimerentur. qui enim restitissent agili et nautico instrumento aptae et armatae classi naves tormenta machinasque portantes et aut in onerariarum usum versae aut ita adpulsae muris, ut pro aggere ac pontibus praebere ascensus possent? itaque Scipio, postquam eo ventum est, contra quam in navali certamine solet, rostratis, quae praesidio aliis esse poterant, in postremam aciem receptis prope terram, onerariarum quadruplicem ordinem pro muro adversus hostem opposuit, easque ipsas, ne in tumultu pugnae turbari ordines possent, malis antemnisque de nave in navem traiectis ac validis funibus velut uno inter se vinculo inligatis comprendit tabulas-

que superinstravit, ut pervium in totum navium or- 6
dinem esset, et sub ipsis pontibus intervalla fecit, qua
procurrere speculatoriae naves in hostem ac tuto re-
cipi possent. his raptim pro tempore instructis mille 7
ferme delecti propugnatores onerariis imponuntur, te-
lorum maxime missilium, ut quamvis longo certamini
sufficerent, vis ingens congeritur. ita parati atque in- 8
tenti hostium adventum opperiebantur. Carthaginienses,
qui, si maturassent, omnia permixta turba trepidan-
tium primo impetu oppressissent, perculsi terrestribus 9
cladibus atque inde ne mari quidem, ubi ipsi plus
poterant, satis fidentes, die segni navigatione absumpto
sub occasum solis in portum — Rusucmona Afri vo-
cant — classem adpulere; postero die sub ortum solis 10
instruxere ab alto naves velut ad iustum proelium
navale et tamquam exituris contra Romanis. cum diu 11
stetissent, postquam nihil moveri ab hostibus vide-
runt, tum demum onerarias adgrediuntur. erat res 12
minime certamini navali similis, proxime speciem
muros oppugnantium navium. altitudine aliquantum 13
onerariae superabant; ex rostratis Poeni vana plera-
que, utpote supino iactu, tela in locum superiorem
mittebant; gravior ac pondere ipso libratior superne
ex onerariis ictus erat. Speculatoriae naves ac levia 14
alia navigia, quae sub constratis pontium per inter-
valla excurrebant, primo ipsae tantum impetu ac
magnitudine rostratarum obruebantur; deinde pro- 15
pugnatoribus quoque incommodae erant, quod per-
mixtae cum hostium navibus inhibere saepe tela coge-
bant metu, ne ambiguo ictu suis inciderent. postremo 16
asseres ferreo unco praefixi — harpagones vocant —
ex Punicis navibus inici in Romanas coepti. quos cum 17
neque ipsos neque catenas, quibus suspensi iniciebantur, incidere possent, ut quaeque retro inhibita rostrata onerariam haerentem unco traheret, scindi vi- 18

deres vincula, quibus aliis innexa erat, seriem etiam
19 simul plurium navium trahi. hoc maxime modo lacerati primi quidem ordinis pontes, et vix transiliendi in secundum ordinem navium spatium propugnatori-
20 bus datum est. sexaginta ferme onerariae puppibus abstractae Carthaginem sunt. maior quam pro re laetitia, sed eo gratior, quod inter adsiduas clades ac lacrimas unum quantumcumque ex insperato gaudium
21 adfulserat cum eo, ut appareret haud procul exitio fuisse Romanam classem, ni cessatum a praefectis suarum navium foret et Scipio in tempore subvenisset.

XI. Per eosdem forte dies cum Laelius et Masinissa quinto decimo ferme die in Numidiam pervenissent, Maesulii, regnum paternum Masinissae, laeti
2 ut ad regem diu desideratum concessere. Syphax pulsis inde praefectis praesidiisque suis vetere se con-
3 tinebat regno, neutiquam quieturus. stimulabat aegrum amore uxor socerque, et ita viris equisque abundabat, ut subiectae oculis regni per multos florentis annos vires etiam minus barbaro atque impotenti animo
4 spiritus possent facere. igitur omnibus, qui bello apti erant, in unum coactis equos, arma, tela dividit; equites in turmas, pedites in cohortes, sicut quondam
5 ab Romanis centurionibus didicerat, distribuit. exercitu haud minore, quam quem prius habuerat, ceterum omni prope novo atque incondito, ire ad hostes
6 pergit. et castris in propinquo positis primo pauci equites ex tuto speculantes ab stationibus progredi, dein iaculis summoti recurrere ad suos; inde excursiones in vicem fieri et, cum pulsos indignatio ac-
7 cenderet, plures subire, quod inritamentum certaminum equestrium est, cum aut vincentibus spes aut pulsis
8 ira adgregat suos. ita tum a paucis proelio accenso omnem utrimque postremo equitatum certaminis studium effudit. ac dum sincerum equestre proelium erat,

multitudo Masaesuliorum, ingentia agmina Syphace emittente, sustineri vix poterat; deinde, ut pedes Romanus repentino per turmas suis viam dantes intercursu stabilem aciem fecit absterruitque effuse invehentem sese hostem, primo barbari segnius permittere equos, dein stare ac prope turbari novo genere pugnae, postremo non pediti solum cedere, sed ne equitem quidem sustinere peditis praesidio audentem. iam signa quoque legionum adpropinquabant. tum vero Masaesulii non modo primum impetum sed ne conspectum quidem signorum atque armorum tulerunt: tantum seu memoria priorum cladium seu praesens terror valuit. XII. ibi Syphax, dum obequitat hostium turmis, si pudore, si periculo suo fugam sistere posset, equo graviter icto effusus opprimitur capiturque et vivus, laetum ante omnes Masinissae praebiturus spectaculum, ad Laelium pertrahitur.

Cirta caput regni Syphacis erat, eoque se ingens vis hominum ex fuga contulerat. caedes in eo proelio minor quam victoria fuit, quia equestri tantummodo proelio certatum fuerat. non plus quinque milia occisa, minus dimidium eius hominum captum est impetu in castro facto, quo perculsa rege amisso multitudo se contulerat. Masinissa sibi quidem dicere nihil esse in praesentia pulchrius quam victorem recuperatum tanto post intervallo patrium invisere regnum; sed tam secundis quam adversis rebus non dari spatium ad cessandum. si se Laelius cum equitatu vinctoque Syphace Cirtam praecedere sinat, trepida omnia metu se oppressurum; Laelium cum peditibus subsequi modicis itineribus posse. adsentiente Laelio praegressus Cirtam evocari ad conloquium principes Cirtensium iubet. sed apud ignaros regis casus nec, quae acta essent, promendo nec minis nec suadendo ante valuit, quam rex vinctus in conspectum datus

9 est. tum ad spectaculum tam foedum comploratio orta, et partim pavore moenia sunt deserta, partim repentino consensu gratiam apud victorem quae-
10 rentium patefactae portae. et Masinissa praesidio circa portas opportunaque moenium dimisso, ne cui fugae pateret exitus, ad regiam occupandam citato vadit equo.

11 Intranti vestibulum in ipso limine Sophonisba, uxor Syphacis, filia Hasdrubalis Poeni, occurrit; et cum in medio agmine armatorum Masinissam insignem cum armis tum cetero habitu conspexisset, regem esse,
12 id quod erat, rata, genibus advoluta eius: 'omnia quidem ut posses' inquit 'in nos, di dederunt virtusque et felicitas tua; sed si captivae apud dominum vitae necisque suae vocem supplicem mittere licet, si
13 genua, si victricem attingere dextram, precor quaesoque per maiestatem regiam, in qua paulo ante nos quoque fuimus, per gentis Numidarum nomen, quod tibi cum Syphace commune fuit, per huiusce regiae
14 deos, qui te melioribus ominibus accipiant, quam Syphacem hinc miserunt, hanc veniam supplici des, ut ipse, quodcumque fert animus, de captiva tua statuas neque me in cuiusquam Romani superbum et crudele
15 arbitrium venire sinas. si nihil aliud quam Syphacis uxor fuissem, tamen Numidae atque in eadem mecum Africa geniti quam alienigenae et externi fidem ex-
16 periri mallem; quid Carthaginiensi ab Romano, quid filiae Hasdrubalis timendum sit, vides. si nulla re alia potes, morte me ut vindices ab Romanorum ar-
17 bitrio, oro obtestorque.' forma erat insignis et florentissima aetas; itaque cum modo genua modo dextram amplectens in id, ne cui Romano traderetur, fidem exposceret, propiusque blanditias iam oratio esset
18 quam preces, non in misericordiam modo prolapsus est animus victoris, sed, ut est genus Numidarum in

Venerem praeceps, amore captivae victor captus. data dextra in id, quod petebatur, obligandae fidei in regiam concedit. institit deinde reputare secum ipse, 19
quem ad modum promissi fidem praestaret. quod cum expedire non posset, ab amore temerarium atque impudens mutuatur consilium: nuptias in eum ipsum 20
diem parari repente iubet, ne quid relinqueret integri aut Laelio aut ipsi Scipioni consulendi velut in captivam, quae Masinissae iam nupta foret. factis nuptiis 21
supervenit Laelius, et adeo non dissimulavit improbare se factum, ut primo etiam cum Syphace et ceteris captivis detractam eam lecto geniali mittere ad
Scipionem conatus sit. victus deinde precibus Masi- 22
nissae orantis, ut arbitrium, utrius regum duorum fortunae accessio Sophonisba esset, ad Scipionem reiceret, misso Syphace et captivis, ceteras urbes Numidiae, quae praesidiis regiis tenebantur, adiuvante Masinissa recipit.

XIII. Syphacem in castra adduci cum esset nuntiatum, omnis velut ad spectaculum triumphi multitudo effusa est. praecedebat ipse vinctus, sequebatur 2
grex nobilium Numidarum. tum quantum quisque plurimum poterat, magnitudini Syphacis famaeque gentis victoriam suam augendo addebat: illum esse 3
regem, cuius tantum maiestati duo potentissimi in terris tribuerint populi, Romanus Carthaginiensisque, ut Scipio imperator suus ad amicitiam eius petendam, 4
relicta provincia Hispania exercituque, duabus quinqueremibus in Africam navigaverit, Hasdrubal Poe- 5
norum imperator non ipse modo ad eum in regnum venerit, sed etiam filiam ei nuptum dederit. habuisse eum uno tempore in potestate duos imperatores Poenum Romanumque. sicut ab dis immortalibus pars 6
utraque hostiis mactandis pacem petisset, ita ab eo utrimque pariter amicitiam petitam. iam tantas ha- 7

buisse opes, ut Masinissam regno pulsum eo redegerit, ut vita eius fama mortis et latebris, ferarum modo
8 in silvis rapto viventis, tegeretur. his sermonibus circumstantium celebratus rex in praetorium ad Scipionem est perductus. movit et Scipionem cum fortuna pristina viri praesenti fortunae conlata, tum recordatio hospitii dextraeque datae et foederis publice ac pri-
9 vatim iuncti. eadem haec et Syphaci animum dederunt in adloquendo victore. nam cum Scipio, quid sibi voluisset, quaereret, qui non societatem solum abnuisset
10 Romanam, sed ultro bellum intulisset, tum ille peccasse quidem sese atque insanisse fatebatur, sed non tum demum, cum arma adversus populum Romanum
11 cepisset; exitum sui furoris eum fuisse, non principium; tum se insanisse, tum hospitia privata et publica foedera omnia ex animo eiecisse, cum Carthaginiensem matronam domum acceperit. illis nuptialibus
12 facibus regiam conflagrasse suam, illam furiam pestemque omnibus delenimentis animum suum avertisse atque alienasse nec conquiesse, donec ipsa manibus suis nefaria sibi arma adversus hospitem atque
13 amicum induerit. perdito tamen atque adflicto sibi hoc in miseriis solacii esse, quod in omnium hominum inimicissimi sibi domum ac penates eandem pestem
14 ac furiam transisse videat. neque prudentiorem neque constantiorem Masinissam quam Syphacem esse, etiam iuventa incautiorem; certe stultius illum atque intemperantius eam quam se duxisse.

XIV. Haec non hostili modo odio, sed amoris etiam stimulis, amatam apud aemulum cernens, cum dixisset, non mediocri cura Scipionis animum pepulit.
2 et fidem criminibus raptae prope inter arma nuptiae neque consulto neque expectato Laelio faciebant tamque praeceps festinatio, ut, quo die captam hostem vidisset, eodem matrimonio iunctam acciperet et ad

penates hostis sui nuptiale sacrum conficeret. et eo 3
foediora haec videbantur Scipioni, quod ipsum in Hispania iuvenem nullius forma pepulerat captivae. haec secum volutanti Laelius ac Masinissa supervenerunt. quos cum pariter ambo et benigno vultu excepisset et egregiis laudibus frequenti praetorio celebrasset, abductum in secretum Masinissam sic adloquitur: 4
'aliqua te, Masinissa, existimo intuentem in me bona et principio in Hispania ad iungendam mecum amicitiam venisse et postea in Africa te ipsum spesque omnes tuas in fidem meam commisisse. atqui nulla 5
earum virtus est, propter quas tibi adpetendus visus sim, qua ego aeque ac temperantia et continentia libidinum gloriatus fuerim. hanc te quoque ad ceteras 6
tuas eximias virtutes, Masinissa, adiecisse velim. non est, non — mihi crede — tantum ab hostibus armatis aetati nostrae periculi, quantum ab circumfusis undique voluptatibus. qui eas temperantia sua frena- 7
vit ac domuit, multo maius decus maioremque victoriam sibi peperit, quam nos Syphace victo habemus. quae me absente strenue ac fortiter fecisti, libenter 8
et commemoravi et memini; cetera te ipsum tecum reputare quam me dicente erubescere malo. Syphax populi Romani auspiciis victus captusque est. itaque 9
ipse, coniunx, regnum, ager, oppida, homines, qui incolunt, quidquid denique Syphacis fuit praeda populi Romani est, et regem coniugemque eius, etiamsi non 10
civis Carthaginiensis esset, etiamsi non patrem eius imperatorem hostium videremus, Romam oporteret mitti, ac senatus populique Romani de ea iudicium atque arbitrium esse, quae regem socium nobis alienasse atque in arma egisse praecipitem dicatur. vince 11
animum; cave deformes multa bona uno vitio et tot meritorum gratiam maiore culpa, quam causa culpae est, conrumpas.'

XV. Masinissae haec audienti non rubor solum suffusus, sed lacrimae etiam obortae; et cum se quidem in potestate futurum imperatoris dixisset orassetque eum, ut, quantum res sineret, fidei suae temere
2 obstrictae consuleret — promisisse enim se in nullius potestatem eam traditurum —, ex praetorio in ta-
3 bernaculum suum confusus concessit. ibi arbitris remotis cum crebro suspiritu et gemitu, quod facile ab circumstantibus tabernaculum exaudiri posset, aliquan-
4 tum temporis consumpsisset, ingenti ad postremum edito gemitu fidum e servis vocat, sub cuius custodia regio more ad incerta fortunae venenum erat, et mix-
5 tum in poculo ferre ad Sophonisbam iubet ac simul nuntiare Masinissam libenter primam ei fidem praestaturum fuisse, quam vir uxori debuerit; quoniam eius arbitrium, qui possint, adimant, secundam fidem praestare, ne viva in potestatem Romanorum veniat.
6 memor patris imperatoris patriaeque et duorum regum, quibus nupta fuisset, sibi ipsa consuleret. hunc nuntium ac simul venenum ferens minister cum ad So-
7 phonisbam venisset, 'accipio' inquit 'nuptiale munus, nec ingratum, si nihil maius vir uxori praestare potuit. hoc tamen nuntia, melius me morituram fuisse,
8 si non in funere meo nupsissem.' non locuta est ferocius quam acceptum poculum nullo trepidationis signo
9 dato impavide hausit. quod ubi nuntiatum est Scipioni, ne quid aeger animi ferox iuvenis gravius consuleret, accitum eum extemplo nunc solatur nunc,
10 quod temeritatem temeritate alia luerit tristioremque rem, quam necesse fuerit, fecerit, leniter castigat.
11 postero die, ut a praesenti motu averteret animum eius, in tribunal escendit et contionem advocari iussit. ibi Masinissam, primum regem appellatum eximiisque ornatum laudibus, aurea corona, aurea patera, sella curuli et scipione eburneo, toga picta et palmata

tunica donat. addit verbis honorem: neque magnificentius quicquam triumpho apud Romanos neque triumphantibus ampliorem eo ornatum esse, quo unum omnium externorum dignum Masinissam populus Romanus ducat. Laelium deinde et ipsum conlaudatum aurea corona donat; et alii militares viri, prout a quoque navata opera erat, donati. his honoribus mollitus regis animus erectusque in spem propinquam sublato Syphace omnis Numidiae potiundae. 12 13 14

XVI. Scipio C. Laelio cum Syphace aliisque captivis Romam misso, cum quibus et Masinissae legati profecti sunt, ipse ad Tuneta rursus castra refert et quae munimenta incohaverat permunit. Carthaginienses non brevi solum, sed prope vano gaudio ab satis prospera in praesens oppugnatione classis perfusi, post famam capti Syphacis, in quo plus prope quam in Hasdrubale atque exercitu suo spei reposuerant, perculsi, iam nullo auctore belli ultra audito oratores ad pacem petendam mittunt triginta seniorum principes; id erat sanctius apud illos consilium maximaque ad ipsum senatum regendum vis. qui ubi in castra Romana et in praetorium pervenerunt, more adulantium — accepto, credo, ritu ex ea regione, ex qua oriundi erant — procubuerunt. conveniens oratio tam humili adulationi fuit, non culpam purgantium, sed transferentium initium culpae in Hannibalem potentiaeque eius fautores. veniam civitati petebant civium temeritate bis iam eversae, incolumi futurae iterum hostium beneficio; imperium ex victis hostibus populum Romanum, non perniciem petere; paratis oboedienter servire imperaret quae vellet. Scipio et venisse ea spe in Africam se ait et spem suam prospero belli eventu auctam, victoriam se, non pacem domum reportaturum esse; tamen, cum victoriam prope in manibus habeat, pacem non abnuere, ut omnes gentes 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

sciant populum Romanum et suscipere iuste bella et
10 finire. leges pacis se has dicere: captivos et perfugas
et fugitivos restituant; exercitus ex Italia et Gallia
deducant; Hispania abstineant; insulis omnibus, quae
11 inter Italiam atque Africam sint, decedant; naves lon-
gas praeter viginti omnes tradant, tritici quingenta,
12 hordei trecenta milia modium. pecuniae summam
quantam imperaverit, parum convenit; alibi quinque
milia talentum, alibi quinque milia pondo argenti,
alibi duplex stipendium militibus imperatum invenio.
13 'his condicionibus' inquit 'placeatne pax, triduum ad
consultandum dabitur. si placuerit, mecum indutias
14 facite, Romam ad senatum mittite legatos'. ita dimissi
Carthaginienses nullas recusandas condiciones pacis
cum censuissent, quippe qui moram temporis quaere-
15 rent, dum Hannibal in Africam traiceret, legatos alios
ad Scipionem, ut indutias facerent, alios Romam ad
pacem petendam mittunt, ducentes paucos in speciem
captivos perfugasque et fugitivos, quo impetrabilior
pax esset.

XVII. Multis ante diebus Laelius cum Syphace
primoribusque Numidarum captivis Romam venit,
quaeque in Africa gesta essent, omnia ordine exposuit
patribus, ingenti hominum et in praesens laetitia et
2 in futurum spe. consulti inde patres regem in custo-
diam Albam mittendum censuerunt, Laelium retinen-
3 dum, donec legati Carthaginienses venirent. suppli-
catio in quadriduum decreta est. P. Aelius praetor
senatu misso et contione inde advocata cum C. Laelio
4 in rostra escendit. ibi vero audientes fusos Cartha-
giniensium exercitus, devictum et captum ingentis
nominis regem, Numidiam omnem egregia victoria
5 peragratam, tacitum continere gaudium non poterant,
quin clamoribus quibusque aliis multitudo solet lae-
6 titiam immodicam significarent. itaque praetor extem-

plo edixit, uti aeditui aedes sacras omnes tota urbe aperirent, circumeundi salutandique deos agendique grates per totum diem populo potestas fieret. postero 7
die legatos Masinissae in senatum introduxit. gratulati primum senatui sunt, quod P. Scipio prospere res in Africa gessisset; deinde gratias egerunt, quod Masi- 8
nissam non appellasset modo regem, sed fecisset restituendo in paternum regnum, in quo post Syphacem sublatum, si ita patribus visum esset, sine metu et certamime esset regnaturus, dein conlaudatum pro con- 9
tione amplissimis decorasset donis, quibus ne indignus esset, et dedisse operam Masinissam et porro daturum esse. petere, ut regium nomen ceteraque Scipionis 10
beneficia et munera senatus decreto confirmaret; et, 11
nisi molestum esset, illud quoque petere Masinissam, ut Numidas captivos, qui Romae in custodia essent, remitterent; id sibi amplum apud populares futurum esse. ad ea responsum legatis: rerum gestarum prospere 12
in Africa communem sibi cum rege gratulationem esse; Scipionem recte atque ordine videri fecisse, quod eum regem appellaverit, et quidquid aliud fecerit, quod cordi foret Masinissae, ea patres comprobare ac laudare. munera, quae legati ferrent regi, 13
decreverunt sagula purpurea duo cum fibulis aureis singulis et lato clavo tunicis, equos duo phaleratos, bina equestria arma cum loricis, et tabernacula militaremque supellectilem, qualem praeberi consuli mos esset. haec regi praetor mittere iussus. legatis in sin- 14
gulos dona ne minus quinum milium, comitibus eorum milium aeris, et vestimenta bina legatis, singula comitibus Numidisque, qui ex custodia emissi redderentur regi; ad hoc aedes liberae, loca, lautia legatis decreta.

XVIII. Eadem aestate, qua haec decreta Romae et in Africa gesta sunt, P. Quinctilius Varus praetor

et M. Cornelius proconsul in agro Insubrum Gallorum cum Magone Poeno signis conlatis pugnarunt.
2 praetoris legiones in prima acie fuerunt; Cornelius suas in subsidiis tenuit, ipse ad prima signa equo advectus; proque duobus cornibus praetor ac proconsul milites ad inferenda in hostes signa summa vi
3 hortabantur. postquam nihil commovebant, tum Quinctilius Cornelio: 'lentior, ut vides, fit pugna, et induratur praeter spem resistendo hostium timor, ac,
4 ne vertat in audaciam, periculum est. equestrem procellam excitemus oportet, si turbare ac statu movere volumus. itaque vel tu ad prima signa proelium sustine, ego inducam in pugnam equites; vel ego hic in prima acie rem geram, tu quattuor legionum equites
5 in hostem emitte'. utram vellet praetor muneris partem proconsule accipiente, Quinctilius praetor cum filio, cui Marco praenomen erat, impigro iuvene ad equites pergit iussosque escendere in equos repente
6 in hostem emittit. tumultum equestrem auxit clamor ab legionibus additus. nec stetisset hostium acies, ni Mago ad primum equitum motum paratos elephantos
7 extemplo in proelium induxisset. ad quorum stridorem odoremque et aspectum territi equi vanum equestre auxilium fecerunt. et ut turbae permixtus, ubi cuspide uti et comminus gladio posset, roboris maioris Romanus eques erat, ita in ablatum procul paventibus
8 equis melius ex intervallo Numidae iaculabantur. simul et peditum legio duodecima, magna ex parte caesa,
9 pudore magis quam viribus tenebat locum; nec diutius tenuisset, ni ex subsidiis tertia decima legio in primam aciem inducta proelium dubium excepisset. Mago quoque ex subsidiis Gallos integrae legioni op-
10 posuit. quibus haud magno certamine fusis hastati legionis undecimae conglobant sese atque elephantos
11 iam etiam peditum aciem turbantes invadunt. in quos

cum pila confertos coniecissent, nullo ferme frustra emisso omnes retro in aciem suorum averterunt; quattuor gravati vulneribus conruerunt. tum primum commota hostium acies, simul omnibus peditibus, ut aversos videre elephantos, ad augendum pavorem ac tumultum effusis. sed donec stetit ante signa Mago, gradum sensim referentes ordines et tenorem pugnae servabant; postquam femine transfixo cadentem auferrique proelio prope exsanguem videre, extemplo in fugam omnes versi. ad quinque milia hostium eo die caesa et signa militaria duo et viginti capta. nec Romanis incruenta victoria fuit: duo milia et trecenti de exercitu praetoris, pars multo maxima ex legione duodecima amissi; inde et tribuni militum duo, M. Cosconius et M. Maevius; tertiae decimae quoque legionis, quae postremo proelio adfuerat, C. Helvius tribunus militum in restituenda pugna cecidit, et duo et viginti ferme inlustres equites obtriti ab elephantis cum centurionibus aliquot perierunt. et longius certamen fuisset, ni vulnere ducis concessa victoria esset.

XIX. Mago proximae silentio noctis profectus, quantum pati viae per vulnus poterat itineribus extentis, ad mare in Ligures Ingaunos pervenit. ibi eum legati ab Carthagine paucis ante diebus in sinum Gallicum adpulsis navibus adierunt iubentes primo quoque tempore in Africam traicere; id et fratrem eius Hannibalem — nam ad eum quoque isse legatos eadem iubentes — facturum; non in eo esse Carthaginiensium res, ut Galliam atque Italiam armis obtineant. Mago non imperio modo senatus periculoque patriae motus, sed metuens etiam, ne victor hostis moranti instaret, Liguresque ipsi, relinqui Italiam a Poenis cernentes, ad eos, quorum mox in potestate futuri essent, deficerent, simul sperans leniorem in navigatione quam in via iactationem vulneris fore et

curationi omnia commodiora, impositis copiis in naves profectus, vixdum superata Sardina ex vulnere moritur. naves quoque aliquot Poenorum disiectae in alto a classe Romana, quae circa Sardiniam erat, capiuntur.
6 haec terra marique in parte Italiae, qua iacet ad Alpes, gesta.

Consul C. Servilius nulla memorabili re in provincia Etruria Galliaque — nam eo quoque proces-
7 serat — gesta, patre C. Servilio et C. Lutatio ex servitute post sextum decimum annum receptis, qui ad
8 vicum Tannetum a Bois capti fuerant, hinc patre, hinc Catulo lateri circumdatis privato magis quam
9 publico decore insignis Roman rediit. latum ad populum est, ne C. Servilio fraudi esset, quod patre, qui sella curuli sedisset, vivo, cum id ignoraret, tribunus plebis atque aedilis plebis fuisset, contra quam sanctum legibus erat. hac rogatione perlata in provinciam rediit.

10 Ad Cn. Servilium consulem, qui in Bruttiis erat, Consentia, Aufugum, Bergae, Besidiae, Ocriculum, Lymphaeum, Argentanum, Clampetia multique ignobiles populi, senescere Punicum bellum cernentes, defecere.
11 idem consul cum Hannibale in agro Crotoniensi acie conflixit. obscura eius pugnae fama est. Valerius Antias quinque milia hostium caesa ait; quae tanta res est, ut aut impudenter ficta sit aut neglegenter prae-
12 termissa. nihil certe ultra rei in Italia ab Hannibale gestum; nam ad eum quoque legati ab Carthagine vocantes in Africam iis forte diebus, quibus ad Magonem, venerunt. XX. frendens gemensque ac vix lacrimis temperans dicitur legatorum verba audisse.
2 postquam edita sunt mandata, 'iam non perplexe' inquit, 'sed palam revocant, qui vetando supplemen-
3 tum et pecuniam mitti iam pridem retrahebant. vicit ergo Hannibalem non populus Romanus, totiens cae-

sus fugatusque, sed senatus Carthaginiensis obtrectatione atque invidia. neque hac deformitate reditus mei tam P. Scipio exultabit atque efferet sese quam Hanno, qui domum nostram, quando alia re non potuit, ruina Carthaginis oppressit'. iam hoc ipsum praesagiens animo praeparaverat ante naves. itaque inutili militum turba praesidii specie in oppida Bruttii agri, quae pauca metu magis quam fide continebantur, dimissa, quod roboris in exercitu erat in Africam transvexit, multis Italici generis, qui in Africam secuturos abnuentes concesserant in Iunonis Laciniae delubrum inviolatum ad eam diem, in templo ipso foede interfectis. raro quemquam alium patriam exilii causa relinquentem tam maestum abisse ferunt quam Hannibalem hostium terra excedentem. respexisse saepe Italiae litora, et deos hominesque accusantem in se quoque ac suum ipsius caput exsecratum, quod non cruentum ab Cannensi victoria militem Romam duxisset. Scipionem ire ad Carthaginem ausum, qui consul hostem Poenum in Italia non vidisset; se centum milibus armatorum ad Trasumennum, ad Cannas caesis circa Casilinum Cumasque et Nolam consenuisse. haec accusans querensque ex diutina possessione Italiae est detractus.

XXI. Roman per eosdem dies et Magonem et Hannibalem profectos adlatum est. cuius duplicis gratulationis minuit laetitiam, et quod parum duces in retinendis iis, cum id mandatum ab senatu esset, aut animi aut virium habuisse videbantur, et quod solliciti erant, omni belli mole in unum exercitum ducemque inclinata, quo evasura esset res.

Per eosdem dies legati Saguntini venerunt comprensos cum pecunia adducentes Carthaginienses, qui ad conducenda auxilia in Hispaniam traiecissent. ducenta et quinquaginta auri, octingenta pondo argenti

5 in vestibulo curiae posuerunt. hominibus acceptis et in carcerem conditis, auro argentoque reddito gratiae legatis actae atque insuper munera data ac naves, quibus in Hispaniam reverterentur.

6 Mentio deinde ab senioribus facta est segnius homines bona quam mala sentire; transitu in Italiam Hannibalis quantum terroris pavorisque sese memi-
7 nisse! quas deinde clades, quos luctus incidisse! visa castra hostium e muris urbis; quae vota singulorum universorumque fuisse! quotiens in conciliis voces
8 manus ad caelum porgentium auditas, en umquam ille dies futurus esset, quo vacuam hostibus Italiam
9 bona pace florentem visuri essent! dedisse tandem id deos sexto decimo demum anno, nec esse, qui deis grates agendas censeat; adeo ne advenientem quidem gratiam homines benigne accipere, nedum ut prae-
10 teritae satis memores sint. conclamatum deinde ex omni parte curiae est, uti referret P. Aelius praetor; decretumque, ut quinque dies circa omnia pulvinaria supplicaretur, victimaeque maiores immolarentur centum viginti.

11 Iam dimisso Laelio legatisque Masinissae cum Carthaginiensium legatos de pace ad senatum venientes Puteolis visos, inde terra venturos adlatum esset, revocari C. Laelium placuit, ut coram eo de
12 pace ageretur. Q. Fulvius Gillo, legatus Scipionis, Carthaginienses Romam adduxit. quibus vetitis ingredi urbem hospitium in villa publica, senatus ad aedem Bellonae datus est.

XXII. Orationem eandem ferme quam apud Scipionem habuerunt, culpam omnem belli a publico
2 consilio in Hannibalem vertentes: eum iniussu senatus non Alpes modo sed Hiberum quoque transgressum, nec Romanis solum sed ante etiam Saguntinis privato consilio bellum intulisse; senatui ac populo Cartha-

giniensi, si quis vere aestimet, foedus ad eam diem 3
inviolatum esse cum Romanis. itaque nihil aliud sibi 4
mandatum esse uti peterent, quam ut in ea pace, quae
postremo cum C. Lutatio facta esset, manere liceret.
cum more tradito patribus potestatem interrogandi, 5
si quis quid vellet, legatos praetor fecisset, seniores-
que, qui foederibus interfuerant, alii alia interrogarent,
nec meminisse se per aetatem — etenim omnes ferme
iuvenes erant — dicerent legati, conclamatum ex 6
omni parte curiae est Punica fraude electos, qui ve-
terem pacem repeterent, cuius ipsi non meminissent.

XXIII. Emotis deinde curia legatis sententiae
interrogari coeptae. M. Livius C. Servilium consulem,
qui propior esset, arcessendum, ut coram eo de pace
ageretur, censebat; cum de re maiore, quam quanta 2
ea esset, consultatio incidere non posset, non videri
sibi absente consulum altero ambobusve eam rem agi
satis ex dignitate populi Romani esse. Q. Metellus, 3
qui triennio ante consul dictatorque fuerat: cum P.
Scipio caedendo exercitus, agros populando in eam
necessitatem hostes compulisset, ut supplices pacem
peterent, et nemo omnium verius existimare posset,
qua mente ea pax peteretur, quam qui ante portas 4
Carthaginis bellum gereret, nullius alterius consilio
quam Scipionis accipiendam abnuendamve pacem esse.
M. Valerius Laevinus, qui bis consul fuerat, specula- 5
tores, non legatos venisse arguebat iubendosque Italia
excedere et custodes cum iis usque ad naves mitten-
dos Scipionique scribendum, ne bellum remitteret.
Laelius Fulviusque adiecerunt, et Scipionem in eo po- 6
sitam habuisse spem pacis, si Hannibal et Mago ex
Italia non revocarentur. ceterum omnia simulaturos 7
Carthaginienses duces eos exercitusque expectantes;
deinde quamvis recentium foederum et deorum omnium
oblitos bellum gesturos. eo magis in Laevini senten- 8

tiam discessum. legati pace infecta ac prope sine responso dimissi.

XXIV. Per eos dies Cn. Servilius consul, haud dubius, quin pacatae Italiae penes se gloria esset, velut pulsum ab se Hannibalem persequens in Sici-
2 liam, inde in Africam transiturus, traiecit. quod ubi Romae vulgatum est, primo censuerant patres, ut praetor scriberet consuli senatum aequum censere in
3 Italiam reverti eum; dein cum praetor spreturum eum litteras suas diceret, dictator ad id ipsum creatus P. Sulpicius pro iure maioris imperii consulem in Italiam
4 revocavit. reliquum anni cum M. Servilio magistro equitum circumeundis Italiae urbibus, quae bello alienatae fuerant, noscendisque singularum causis consumpsit.

5 Per indutiarum tempus ex Sardinia a P. Lentulo praetore centum onerariae naves cum commeatu viginti rostratarum praesidio et ab hoste et ab tem-
6 pestatibus mari tuto in Africam transmiserunt. Cn. Octavio ducentis onerariis, triginta longis navibus ex
7 Sicilia traicienti non eadem fortuna fuit. in conspectum ferme Africae prospero cursu evectum primo destituit ventus, dein versus in Africum turbavit ac passim
8 naves disiecit. ipse cum rostratis per adversos fluctus ingenti remigum labore enisus Apollinis promuntu-
9 rium tenuit; onerariae pars maxima ad Aegimurum — insula ea sinum ab alto claudit, in quo sita Carthago est, triginta ferme milia ab urbe —, aliae adversus urbem ipsam ad Calidas Aquas delatae sunt. om-
10 nia in conspectu Carthaginis erant. itaque ex tota urbe in forum concursum est; magistratus senatum vocare; populus in curiae vestibulo fremere, ne tanta
11 ex oculis manibusque amitteretur praeda. cum quidam pacis petitae, alii indutiarum — necdum enim dies exierat — fidem opponerent, permixto paene senatus

populique concilio consensum est, ut classem quinquaginta navium Hasdrubal Aegimurum traiceret, inde per litora portusque dispersas Romanas naves colligeret. desertae fuga nautarum primum ab Aegimuro, deinde ab Aquis onerariae Carthaginem puppibus tractae sunt. 12

XXV. Nondum ab Roma reverterant legati, neque sciebatur, quae senatus Romani de bello aut pace sententia esset, necdum indutiarum dies exierat; eo indigniorem iniuriam ratus Scipio, ab iis, qui petissent pacem et indutias, et spem pacis et fidem indutiarum violatam esse, legatos Carthaginem L. Baebium, L. Sergium, L. Fabium extemplo misit. qui cum multitudinis concursu prope violati essent nec reditum tutiorem futurum cernerent, petierunt a magistratibus, quorum auxilio vis prohibita erat, ut naves mitterent, quae se prosequerentur. datae triremes duae cum ad Bagradam flumen pervenissent, unde castra Romana conspiciebantur, Carthaginem rediere. classis Punica ad Uticam stationem habebat. ex ea tres quadriremes — seu clam misso a Carthagine nuntio, ut id fieret, seu Hasdrubale, qui classi praeerat, sine publica fraude auso facinus — quinqueremem Romanam superantem promunturium ex alto repente adgressae sunt. sed neque rostro ferire celeritate summa praelabentem poterant, neque transilire armati ex humilioribus in altiorem navem, et defendebatur egregie, quoad tela suppeditarunt. quis deficientibus iam nulla alia res eam quam propinquitas terrae multitudoque a castris in litus effusa tueri potuit. concitatam enim remis, quanto maximo impetu poterant, in terram cum immisissent, navis tantum iactura facta, incolumes ipsi evaserunt. ita alio super aliud scelere cum haud dubie indutiae ruptae essent, Laelius Fulviusque ab Roma cum legatis Carthaginiensibus supervenerunt. quibus 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Scipio, etsi non indutiarum modo fides a Carthaginiensibus sed ius etiam gentium in legatis violatum esset, tamen se nihil nec institutis populi Romani nec suis moribus indignum in iis facturum esse cum dixisset, dimissis legatis bellum parabat.

11 Hannibali iam terrae adpropinquanti iussus e nauticis unus escendere in malum, ut specularetur, quam tenerent regionem, cum dixisset sepulchrum dirutum proram spectare, abominatus praetervehi iusso gubernatore ad Leptim adpulit classem atque ibi copias exposuit.

XXVI. Haec eo anno in Africa gesta; insequentia excedunt in eum annum, quo M. Servilius Geminus, qui tum magister equitum erat, et Ti. Claudius 2 Nero consules facti sunt. ceterum exitu superioris anni cum legati sociarum urbium ex Graecia questi essent vastatos agros ab regiis praesidiis profectosque in Macedoniam legatos ad res repetendas non 3 admissos ad Philippum regem, simul nuntiassent quattuor milia militum cum Sopatro duce traiecta in Africam dici, ut essent Carthaginiensibus praesidio, et 4 pecuniae aliquantum una missum, legatos ad regem, qui haec adversus foedus facta videri patribus nuntiarent, mittendos censuit senatus. missi C. Terentius Varro, C. Mamilius, M. Aurelius. iis tres quinqueremes datae.

5 Annus insignis incendio ingenti, quo clivus Publicius ad solum exustus est, et aquarum magnitudine et annonae vilitate fuit, praeterquam quod pace omnis 6 Italia erat aperta, etiam quod magnam vim frumenti ex Hispania missam M. Valerius Falto et M. Fabius Buteo aediles curules quaternis aeris vicatim populo discripserunt.

7 Eodem anno Q. Fabius Maximus moritur exactae aetatis, si quidem verum est augurem duos et sexa-

ginta annos fuisse, quod quidam auctores sunt. vir 8
certe fuit dignus tanto cognomine, vel si novum ab
eo inciperet. superavit paternos honores, avitos aequa-
vit. pluribus victoriis et maioribus proeliis avus in-
signis Rullus; sed omnia aequare unus hostis Hanni-
bal potest. cautior tamen quam promptior hic habitus; 9
et sicut dubites, utrum ingenio cunctator fuerit an
quia ita bello proprie, quod tum gerebatur, aptum
erat, sic nihil certius est quam unum hominem nobis
cunctando rem restituisse, sicut Ennius ait. augur in 10
locum eius inauguratus Q. Fabius Maximus filius; in
eiusdem locum pontifex — nam duo sacerdotia ha-
buit — Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

Ludi Romani diem unum, plebei ter toti instau- 11
rati ab aedilibus M. Sextio Sabino et Cn. Tremellio
Flacco. ii ambo praetores facti et cum iis C. Livius
Salinator et C. Aurelius Cotta. comitia eius anni 12
utrum C. Servilius consul habuerit an, quia eum res
in Etruria tenuerint quaestiones ex senatus consulto
de coniurationibus principum habentem, dictator ab
eo dictus P. Sulpicius, incertum ut sit, diversi aucto-
res faciunt.

XXVII. Principio insequentis anni M. Servilius
et Ti. Claudius senatu in Capitolium vocato de pro-
vinciis rettulerunt. Italiam atque Africam in sortem 2
coici, Africam ambo cupientes, volebant. ceterum Q.
Metello maxime adnitente neque negata neque data
est Africa; consules iussi cum tribunis plebis agere, 3
ut, si iis videretur, populum rogarent, quem vellent
in Africa bellum gerere. omnes tribus P. Scipionem
iusserunt. nihilo minus consules provinciam Africam 4
— ita enim senatus decreverat — in sortem coniece-
runt. Ti. Claudio Africa evenit, ut quinquaginta na- 5
vium classem, omnes quinqueremes, in Africam trai-
ceret parique imperio cum P. Scipione esset;

6 M. Servilius Etruriam sortitus. in eadem provincia et C. Servilio prorogatum imperium, si consulem
7 manere ad urbem senatui placuisset. praetores M. Sextius Galliam est sortitus, ut duas legiones provinciamque traderet ei P. Quinctilius Varus; C. Livius Bruttios cum duabus legionibus, quibus P. Sempronius
8 proconsul priore anno praefuerat; Cn. Tremellius Siciliam, ut a P. Villio Tappulo praetore prioris anni provinciam et duas legiones acciperet; Villius pro praetore viginti navibus longis et militibus mille oram
9 Siciliae tutaretur; M. Pomponius viginti navibus reliquis mille et quingentos milites Romam deportaret; C. Aurelio Cottae urbana evenit. ceteris ita, uti quisque obtinebant provincias exercitusque, prorogata im-
10 peria. sedecim non amplius eo anno legionibus defen-
11 sum imperium est. et ut placatis dis omnia inciperent agerentque, quos ludos M. Claudio Marcello, T. Quinctio consulibus T. Manlius dictator, quasque hostias maiores voverat, si per quinquennium res publica eodem statu fuisset, ut eos ludos consules, priusquam
12 ad bellum proficiscerentur, facerent. ludi in circo per quadriduum facti, hostiaeque quibus votae erant dis caesae.

XXVIII. Inter haec simul spes simul cura in dies crescebat, nec satis certum constare apud animos poterat, utrum gaudio dignius esset Hannibalem post sextum decimum annum ex Italia decedentem vacuam possessionem eius reliquisse populo Romano, an magis metuendum, quod incolumi exercitu in Africam
2 transisset: locum nimirum, non periculum mutatum; cuius tantae dimicationis vatem, qui nuper decessisset, Q. Fabium haud frustra canere solitum graviorem in sua terra futurum hostem Hannibalem, quam in aliena
3 fuisset. nec Scipioni aut cum Syphace, inconditae barbariae rege, cui Statorius semilixa docere exercitus

solitus sit, aut cum socero eius Hasdrubale, fugacissimo duce, rem futuram aut tumultuariis exercitibus ex agrestium semermi turba subito conlectis, sed cum Hannibale, prope nato in praetorio patris, fortissimi 4
ducis, alito atque educato inter arma, puero quondam milite, vixdum iuvene imperatore, qui senex vincendo 5
factus Hispanias, Gallias, Italiam ab Alpibus ad fretum monumentis ingentium rerum complesset. ducere exercitum aequalem stipendiis suis, duratum omnium rerum patientia, quas vix fides fiat homines passos, perfusum miliens cruore Romano, exuvias non militum tantum sed etiam imperatorum portantem. multos oc- 6
cursuros Scipioni in acie, qui praetores, qui imperatores, qui consules Romanos manu sua occidissent, muralibus vallaribusque insignes coronis, pervagatos capta castra, captas urbes Romanas. non esse hodie 7
tot fasces magistratibus populi Romani, quot captos ex caede imperatorum prae se ferre posset Hannibal. has formidines agitando animis ipsi curas et metus augebant, etiam quod, cum adsuessent per aliquot 8
annos bellum ante oculos aliis atque aliis in Italiae partibus lenta spe in nullum propinquum debellandi finem gerere, erexerant omnium animos Scipio et Hannibal, velut ad supremum certamen comparati duces. eis quoque, quibus erat ingens in Scipione fi- 9
ducia et victoriae spes, quo magis in propinquam eam imminebant animis, eo curae intentiores erant. haud dispar habitus animorum Carthaginiensibus erat, 10
quod modo petisse pacem, intuentes Hannibalem ac rerum gestarum eius magnitudinem, paenitebat, modo, cum respicerent bis sese acie victos, Syphacem cap- 11
tum, pulsos se Hispania, pulsos Italia, atque ea omnia unius virtute et consilio Scipionis facta, velut fatalem eum ducem in exitium suum natum horrebant.

XXIX. Iam Hadrumetum pervenerat Hannibal,

unde, ad reficiendum ex iactatione maritima militem paucis diebus sumptis, excitus pavidis nuntiis omnia circa Carthaginem obtineri armis adferentium, magnis
2 itineribus Zamam contendit. Zama quinque dierum iter ab Carthagine abest. inde praemissi speculatores cum excepti ab custodibus Romanis deducti ad Scipionem essent, traditos eos tribuno militum iussosque omisso metu visere omnia per castra, qua vellent,
3 circumduci iussit; percunctatusque, satin per commodum omnia explorassent, datis, qui prosequerentur,
4 retro ad Hannibalem dimisit. Hannibal nihil quidem eorum, quae nuntiabantur — nam et Masinissam cum sex milibus peditum, quattuor equitum venisse eo ipso forte die adferebant —, laeto animo audivit, maxime hostis fiducia audaciaque, non de nihilo profecto con-
5 cepta, perculsus est. itaque quamquam et ipse causa belli erat et adventu suo turbaverat et pactas indutias et spem foederum, tamen, si integer quam si victus peteret pacem, aequiora impetrari posse ratus, nuntium ad Scipionem misit, ut conloquendi secum potes-
6 tatem faceret. id utrum sua sponte fecerit an pub-
7 lico consilio, neutrum cur adfirmem habeo. Valerius Antias primo proelio victum eum ab Scipione, quo duodecim milia armatorum in acie sint caesa, mille et septingenti capti, legatum cum aliis decem legatis
8 tradit in castra ad Scipionem venisse. ceterum Scipio cum conloquium haud abnuisset, ambo ex composito duces castra protulerunt, ut coire ex propinquo pos-
9 sent. Scipio haud procul Naraggara urbe, cum ad cetera loco opportuno tum quod aquatio intra teli
10 coniectum erat, consedit. Hannibal tumulum a quattuor milibus inde, tutum commodumque alioqui, nisi quod longinquae aquationis erat, cepit. ibi in medio locus conspectus undique, ne quid insidiarum esset, delectus.

XXX. Summotis pari spatio armatis cum singulis interpretibus congressi sunt, non suae modo aetatis maximi duces, sed omnis ante se memoriae, omnium gentium cuilibet regum imperatorumve pares. paulisper alter alterius conspectu, admiratione mutua prope attoniti, conticuere. tum Hannibal prior: 'si hoc ita fato datum erat, ut qui primus bellum intuli populo Romano quique totiens prope in manibus victoriam habui, is ultro ad pacem petendam venirem, laetor te mihi sorte potissimum datum, a quo peterem. tibi quoque inter multa egregia non in ultimis laudum hoc fuerit, Hannibalem, cui tot de Romanis ducibus victoriam di dedissent, tibi cessisse, teque huic bello, vestris prius quam nostris cladibus insigni, finem imposuisse. hoc quoque ludibrium casus ediderit fortuna, ut, cum patre tuo consule ceperim arma, cum eodem primum Romano imperatore signa contulerim, ad filium eius inermis ad pacem petendam veniam. optimum quidem fuerat eam patribus nostris mentem datam ab dis esse, ut et vos Italiae et nos Africae imperio contenti essemus; neque enim ne vobis quidem Sicilia ac Sardinia satis digna pretia sunt pro tot classibus, tot exercitibus, tot tam egregiis amissis ducibus. sed praeterita magis reprehendi possunt quam corrigi. ita aliena adpetivimus, ut de nostris dimicaremus, nec in Italia solum nobis bellum, vobis in Africa esset, sed et vos in portis vestris prope ac moenibus signa armaque hostium vidistis et nos ab Carthagine fremitum castrorum Romanorum exaudimus. quod igitur nos maxime abominaremur, vos ante omnia optaretis, in meliore vestra fortuna de pace agitur. agimus ei, quorum et maxime interest pacem esse, et qui quodcumque egerimus, ratum civitates nostrae habiturae sunt. animo tantum nobis opus est non abhorrente a quietis consiliis. quod ad me attinet,

iam aetas senem in patriam revertentem, unde puer profectus sum, iam secundae, iam adversae res ita erudie-
11 runt, ut rationem sequi quam fortunam malim; tuam et adulescentiam et perpetuam felicitatem, ferociora utraque quam quietis opus est consiliis, metuo. non temere incerta casuum reputat, quem fortuna num-
12 quam decepit. quod ego fui ad Trasumennum, ad Cannas, id tu hodie es. vixdum militari aetate imperio accepto omnia audacissime incipientem nusquam fe-
13 fellit fortuna. patris et patrui persecutus mortem ex calamitate vestrae domus decus insigne virtutis pietatisque eximiae cepisti; amissas Hispanias reciperasti
14 quattuor inde Punicis exercitibus pulsis; consul creatus, cum ceteris ad tutandam Italiam parum animi esset, transgressus in Africam, duobus hic exercitibus caesis, binis eadem hora captis simul incensisque castris, Syphace potentissimo rege capto, tot urbibus regni eius, tot nostro imperii ereptis, me sextum decimum iam annum haerentem in possessione Italiae detraxisti. potest victoriam malle quam pacem animus.
15 novi spiritus magnos magis quam utiles; et mihi talis
16 aliquando fortuna adfulsit. quodsi in secundis rebus bonam quoque mentem darent dei, non ea solum, quae evenissent, sed etiam ea, quae evenire possent, reputaremus. ut omnium obliviscaris aliorum, satis
17 ego documenti in omnes casus sum, quem, modo castris inter Anienem atque urbem vestram positis signa inferentem ac iam prope scandentem moenia Romana, hic cernas duobus fratribus, fortissimis viris, clarissimis imperatoribus orbatum ante moenia prope obsessae patriae, quibus terrui vestram urbem, ea pro mea
18 deprecantem. maximae cuique fortunae minime credendum est. in bonis tuis rebus, nostris dubiis, tibi ampla ac speciosa danti est pax, nobis petentibus

magis necessaria quam honesta. melior tutiorque est 19
certa pax quam sperata victoria; haec in tua, illa in
deorum manu est. ne tot annorum felicitatem in unius
horae dederis discrimen; cum tuas vires, tum vim 20
fortunae Martemque belli communem propone animo.
utrimque ferrum, utrimque corpora humana erunt;
nusquam minus quam in bello ad spem eventus re-
spondent. non tantum ad id, quod data pace iam habere 21
potes, si proelio vincas, gloriae adieceris, quantum
dempseris, si quid adversi eveniat. simul parta ac
sperata decora unius horae fortuna evertere potest.
omnia in pace iungenda tuae potestatis sunt, P. Corneli; 22
tunc ea habenda fortuna erit, quam di dederint. inter 23
pauca felicitatis virtutisque exempla M. Atilius quondam
in hac eadem terra fuisset, si victor pacem petentibus
dedisset patribus nostris; sed non statuendo felicitati
modum nec cohibendo efferentem se fortunam, quanto
altius elatus erat, eo foedius conruit. est quidem eius, 24
qui dat, non qui petit, condiciones dicere pacis; sed
forsitan non indigni simus, qui nobismet ipsi multam
inrogemus. non recusamus, quin omnia, propter quae 25
ad bellum itum est, vestra sint, Sicilia, Sardinia, His-
pania, quidquid insularum toto inter Africam Italiam-
que continetur mari. Carthaginienses inclusi Africae 26
litoribus vos, quando ita dis placuit, externa etiam
terra marique videamus regentes imperio. haud nega- 27
verim propter non nimis sincere petitam aut expecta-
tam nuper pacem suspectam esse vobis Punicam fidem.
multum, per quos petita sit, ad fidem tuendae pacis
pertinet, Scipio. vestri quoque, ut audio, patres non 28
nihil etiam ob hoc, quia parum dignitatis in legatione
erat, negaverunt pacem: Hannibal peto pacem, qui 29
neque peterem, nisi utilem crederem, et propter ean-
dem utilitatem tuebor eam, propter quam petii. et quem 30

ad modum, quia a me bellum coeptum est, ne quem eius paeniteret, quoad ipsi invidere dei, praestiti, ita adnitar, ne quem pacis per me partae paeniteat.'

XXXI. Adversus haec imperator Romanus in hanc fere sententiam respondit: 'non me fallebat, Hannibal, adventus tui spe Carthaginienses et prae-
2 sentem indutiarum fidem et spem pacis turbasse; neque tu id sane dissimulas, qui de condicionibus superioribus pacis omnia subtrahas praeter ea, quae iam
3 pridem in nostra potestate sunt. ceterum ut tibi curae est sentire cives tuos, quanto per te onere leventur, sic mihi laborandum est, ne, quae tunc pepigerunt, hodie subtracta ex condicionibus pacis praemia per-
4 fidiae habeant. indigni, quibus eadem pateat condicio, etiam ut prosit vobis fraus petitis. neque patres nostri priores de Sicilia, neque nos de Hispania fecimus bellum; et tunc Mamertinorum sociorum periculum et nunc Sagunti excidium nobis pia ac iusta indue-
5 runt arma: vos lacessisse et tu ipse fateris et dei testes sunt, qui et illius belli exitum secundum ius
6 fasque dederunt et huius dant et dabunt. quod ad me attinet, et humanae infirmitatis memini et vim fortunae reputo et omnia, quaecumque agimus, subiecta
7 esse mille casibus scio; ceterum, quem ad modum superbe et violenter me faterer facere, si, priusquam in Africam traiecissem, te tua voluntate cedentem Italia et imposito in naves exercitu ipsum venientem ad pacem
8 petendam aspernarer, sic nunc, cum prope manu consertum restitantem ac tergiversantem in Africam ad-
9 traxerim, nulla sum tibi verecundia obstrictus. proinde si quid ad ea, in quae tum pax conventura videbatur, quasi multa navium cum commeatu per indutias expugnatarum legatorumque violatorum, adicitur, est quod referam ad consilium; sin illa quoque gravia videntur, bellum parate, quoniam pacem pati non potuistis'.

Ita infecta pace ex conloquio ad suos cum se re- 10
cipissent, frustra verba praelata renuntiant: armis decernendum esse habendamque eam fortunam, quam dei dedissent. XXXII. in castra ut est ventum, pronuntiant ambo, arma expedirent milites animosque ad supremum certamen, non in unum diem sed in perpetuum, si felicitas adesset, victores. Roma an Car- 2
thago iura gentibus daret, ante crastinam noctem scituros; neque enim Africam aut Italiam, sed orbem terrarum victoriae praemium fore; par periculum praemio, quibus adversa pugnae fortuna fuisset. nam ne- 3
que Romanis effugium ullum patebat in aliena ignotaque terra et Carthagini supremo auxilio effuso adesse videbatur praesens excidium.

Ad hoc discrimen procedunt postero die duorum 4
opulentissimorum populorum duo longe clarissimi duces, duo fortissimi exercitus, multa ante parta decora aut cumulaturi eo die aut eversuri. anceps igitur spes et 5
metus miscebant animos; contemplantibusque modo suam modo hostium aciem, cum non oculis magis quam ratione pensarent vires, simul laeta simul tristia obversabantur. quae ipsis sua sponte non succurrebant, ea duces admonendo atque hortando subiciebant. Poe- 6
nus sedecim annorum in terra Italia res gestas, tot duces Romanos, tot exercitus occidione occisos et sua cuique decora, ubi ad insignem alicuius pugnae memoria militem venerat, referebat; Scipio Hispanias et 7
recentia in Africa proelia et confessionem hostium, quod neque non petere pacem propter metum neque manere in ea prae insita animis perfidia potuissent. ad hoc conloquium Hannibalis, in secreto habitum ac 8
liberum fingenti, qua vult, flectit; ominatur, quibus 9
quondam auspiciis patres eorum ad Aegates pugnaverint insulas, ea illis exeuntibus in aciem portendisse deos. adesse finem belli ac laboris. in manibus esse 10

praedam Carthaginis, reditum domum in patriam ad
11 parentes, liberos, coniuges penatesque deos. celsus haec corpore vultuque ita laeto, ut vicisse iam crederes, dicebat. instruit deinde primos hastatos, post eos principes, triariis postremam aciem clausit. XXXIII. non confertas autem cohortes ante sua quamque signa instruebat, sed manipulos aliquantum inter se distantes, ut esset spatium, qua elephanti hostium
2 acti nihil ordines turbarent. Laelium, cuius ante legati, eo anno quaestoris extra sortem ex senatus consulto opera utebatur, cum Italico equitatu ab sinistro cornu,
3 Masinissam Numidasque ab dextro opposuit. vias patentes inter manipulos antesignanorum velitibus — ea tunc levis armatura erat — complevit, dato praecepto, ut ad impetum elephantorum aut post directos refugerent ordines aut in dextram laevamque discursu applicantes se antesignanis viam, qua inruerent in
4 ancipitia tela, beluis darent. Hannibal ad terrorem primos elephantos — octoginta autem erant, quot nulla umquam in acie ante habuerat — instruxit,
5 deinde auxilia Ligurum Gallorumque Baliaribus Maurisque admixtis; in secunda acie Carthaginienses
6 Afrosque et Macedonum legionem; modico deinde intervallo relicto subsidiariam aciem Italicorum militum — Bruttii plerique erant, vi ac necessitate plures quam sua voluntate decedentem ex Italia secuti —
7 instruxit. equitatum et ipse circumdedit cornibus; dextrum Carthaginienses, sinistrum Numidae tenuerunt.
8 varia adhortatio erat in exercitu inter tot homines, quibus non lingua, non mos, non lex, non arma, non vestitus habitusque, non causa militandi eadem esset.
9 auxiliaribus et praesens et multiplicata ex praeda merces ostentatur; Galli proprio atque insito in Romanos odio accenduntur; Liguribus campi uberes Italiae deductis ex asperrimis montibus in spem victoriae

ostentantur; Mauros Numidasque Masinissae impotenti futuro dominatu terret; aliis aliae spes ac metus iactantur. Carthaginiensibus moenia patriae, di penates, sepulchra maiorum, liberi cum parentibus coniugesque pavidae, aut excidium servitiumque aut imperium orbis terrarum, nihil aut in metum aut in spem medium, ostentatur. 10 11

Cum maxime haec imperator apud Carthaginienses, duces suarum gentium inter populares, pleraque per interpretes inter immixtos alienigenas agerent, tubae cornuaque ab Romanis cecinerunt, tantusque clamor ortus, ut elephanti in suos, sinistrum maxime cornu, verterentur, Mauros ac Numidas. addidit facile Masinissa perculsis terrorem nudavitque ab ea parte aciem equestri auxilio. paucae tamen bestiarum intrepidae in hostem actae inter velitum ordines cum multis suis vulneribus ingentem stragem edebant. resilientes enim ad manipulos velites, cum viam elephantis, ne obtererentur, fecissent, in ancipites ad ictum utrimque coniciebant hastas, nec pila ab antesignanis cessabant, donec undique incidentibus telis exacti ex Romana acie hi quoque in suos, dextrum cornu, ipsos Carthaginienses equites, in fugam verterunt. Laelius ut turbatos vidit hostes, addidit perculsis terrorem. 12 13 14 15 16

XXXIV. Utrimque nudata equite erat Punica acies, cum pedes concurrit, nec spe nec viribus iam par. ad hoc dictu parva, sed magna eadem in re gerenda momenta: congruens clamor ab Romanis eoque maior et terribilior, dissonae illis, ut gentium multarum discrepantibus linguis, voces; pugna Romana stabilis et suo et armorum pondere incumbentium in hostem, concursatio et velocitas illinc maior quam vis. igitur primo impetu extemplo movere loco hostium aciem Romani. ala deinde et umbone pulsantes, in 2 3

summotos gradu inlato, aliquantum spatii velut nullo
4 resistente incessere, urgentibus et novissimis primos,
ut semel motam aciem sensere, quod ipsum vim ma-
5 gnam ad pellendum hostem addebat. apud hostes aux-
iliares cedentes secunda acies, Afri et Carthaginienses,
adeo non sustinebant, ut contra etiam, ne resistentes
pertinaciter primos caedendo ad se perveniret hostis,
6 pedem referrent. igitur auxiliares terga dant repente,
et in suos versi partim refugere in secundam aciem,
partim non recipientes caedere, ut et paulo ante non
7 adiuti et tunc exclusi. et prope duo iam permixta
proelia erant, cum Carthaginienses simul cum hosti-
bus, simul cum suis cogerentur manus conserere. non
8 tamen ita perculsos iratosque in aciem accepere, sed
densatis ordinibus in cornua vacuumque circa campum
extra proelium eiecere, ne pavido fuga et vulneribus
9 milite sinceram et integram aciem miscerent. ceterum
tanta strages hominum armorumque locum, in quo
steterant paulo ante auxiliares, compleverat, ut prope
difficilior transitus esset, quam per confertos hostes
10 fuerat. itaque, qui primi erant, hastati per cumulos
corporum armorumque et tabem sanguinis, qua quis-
que poterat, sequentes hostem et signa et ordines
confuderunt. principum quoque signa fluctuari coe-
11 perant vagam ante se cernendo aciem. quod Scipio
ubi vidit, receptui propere canere hastatis iussit et
sauciis in postremam aciem subductis principes tria-
riosque in cornua inducit, quo tutior firmiorque media
12 hastatorum acies esset. ita novum de integro proe-
lium ortum est; quippe ad veros hostes perventum
erat, et armorum genere et usu militiae et fama re-
rum gestarum et magnitudine vel spei vel periculi
13 pares. sed et numero superior Romanus erat et animo,
quod iam equites, iam elephantos fuderat, iam prima
acie pulsa in secundam pugnabat. XXXV. in tem-

pore Laelius ac Masinissa, pulsos per aliquantum spatii secuti equites, revertentes in aversam hostium aciem incurrere. is demum equitum impetus perculit hostem. multi circumventi in acie caesi; multi per 2
patentem circa campum fuga sparsi tenente omnia equitatu passim interierunt. Carthaginiensium socio- 3
rumque caesa eo die supra viginti milia; par ferme numerus captus cum signis militaribus centum triginta duobus, elephantis undecim. victores ad mille et quingentos cecidere.

Hannibal cum paucis equitibus inter tumultum 4
elapsus Hadrumetum perfugit, omnia et ante aciem et in proelio, priusquam excederet pugna, expertus 5
et confessione etiam Scipionis omniumque peritorum militiae illam laudem adeptus, singulari arte aciem eo die instruxisse: elephantos in prima fronte, 6
quorum fortuitus impetus atque intolerabilis vis signa sequi et servare ordines, in quo plurimum spei ponerent, Romanos prohiberent; deinde auxiliares 7
ante Carthaginiensium aciem, ne homines mixti ex conluvione omnium gentium, quos non fides teneret, sed merces, liberum receptum fugae haberent, simul 8
primum ardorem atque impetum hostium excipientes fatigarent ac, si nihil aliud, vulneribus suis ferrum hostile hebetarent; tum, ubi omnis spes esset, milites 9
Carthaginienses Afrosque, ut, omnibus rebus aliis pares, eo, quod integri cum fessis ac sauciis pugnarent, superiores essent; Italicos intervallo quoque diremptos, incertos, socii an hostes essent, in postremam aciem summotos. hoc edito velut ultimo virtutis 10
opere Hannibal cum Hadrumetum refugisset, accitusque inde Carthaginem sexto ac tricesimo post anno, quam puer inde profectus erat, redisset, fassus in 11
curia est non proelio modo se sed bello victum, nec spem salutis alibi quam in pace impetranda esse.

XXXVI. Scipio confestim a proelio expugnatis hostium castris direptisque cum ingenti praeda ad
2 mare ac naves rediit nuntio allato P. Lentulum cum quinquaginta rostratis, centum onerariis, cum omni
3 genere commeatus ad Uticam accessisse. admovendum igitur undique terrorem perculsae Carthagini ratus, misso Laelio Romam cum victoriae nuntio Cn. Octavium terrestri itinere ducere legiones Carthaginem iubet; ipse ad suam veterem nova Lentuli classe adiuncta profectus ab Utica portum Carthaginis petit.
4 haud procul aberat, cum velata infulis ramisque oleae Carthaginiensium occurrit navis. decem legati erant, principes civitatis, auctore Hannibale missi ad peten-
5 dam pacem. qui cum ad puppim praetoriae navis accessissent velamenta supplicum porrigentes, orantes
6 implorantesque fidem ac misericordiam Scipionis, nullum iis aliud responsum datum, quam ut Tunetem venirent; eo se moturum castra. ipse ad contemplandum Carthaginis situm non tam noscendi in praesentia quam terrendi hostis causa provectus, Uticam, eo-
7 dem et Octavio revocato, rediit. inde procedentibus ad Tunetem nuntius allatus Verminam Syphacis filium cum equitibus pluribus quam peditibus venire Cartha-
8 giniensibus auxilio. pars exercitus cum omni equitatu Saturnalibus primis agmen adgressa Numidarum levi certamine fudit. exitu quoque fugae intercluso ab omni parte circumdatis equitibus quindecim milia hominum caesa, mille et ducenti vivi capti, et equi Numidici mille et quingenti, signa militaria duo et septuaginta.
9 regulus ipse inter tumultum cum paucis effugit. tum ad Tunetem eodem quo antea loco castra posita, legatique triginta ab Carthagine ad Scipionem venerunt. et illi quidem multo miserabilius quam antea, quo magis cogebat fortuna, egerunt; sed aliquanto minore cum misericordia ab recenti memoria perfidiae auditi

sunt. in consilio quamquam iusta ira omnes ad delen- 10
dam stimulabat Carthaginem, tamen cum et quanta
res esset et quam longi temporis obsidio tam munitae
et tam validae urbis reputarent, et ipsum Scipionem
expectatio successoris venturi ad paratam alterius la-
bore ac periculo finiti belli famam sollicitaret, ad pa-
cem omnium animi versi sunt. XXXVII. postero die
revocatis legatis et cum multa castigatione perfidiae
monitis, ut tot cladibus edocti tandem deos et ius
iurandum esse crederent, condiciones pacis dictae, ut
liberi legibus suis viverent; quas urbes quosque agros 2
quibusque finibus ante bellum tenuissent, tenerent,
populandique finem eo die Romanus faceret; perfugas 3
fugitivosque et captivos omnes redderent Romanis et
naves rostratas praeter decem triremes traderent ele-
phantosque, quos haberent, domitos, neque domarent
alios; bellum neve in Africa neve extra Africam in- 4
iussu populi Romani gererent; Masinissae res redde-
rent foedusque cum eo facerent; frumentum stipen- 5
diumque auxiliis, donec ab Roma legati redissent,
praestarent. decem milia talentum argenti, discripta
pensionibus aequis in annos quinquaginta, solverent;
obsides centum arbitratu Scipionis darent, ne minores 6
quattuordecim annis neu triginta maiores. indutias ita
se daturum, si per priores indutias naves onerariae
captae, quaeque fuissent in navibus, restituerentur;
aliter nec indutias nec spem pacis ullam esse.

Has condiciones legati cum domum referre iussi 7
in contione, ederent, et Gisgo ad dissuadendam pacem
processisset audireturque a multitudine inquieta eadem
et inbelli, indignatus Hannibal dici ea in tali tempore 8
audirique, arreptum Gisgonem manu sua ex superiore
loco detraxit. quae insueta liberae civitati species cum
fremitum populi movisset, perturbatus militaris vir ur-
bana libertate 'novem' inquit 'annorum a vobis pro- 9

fectus post sextum et tricesimum annum redii. militares artes, quas me a puero fortuna nunc privata
10 nunc publica docuit, probe videor scire; urbis ac fori iura, leges, mores vos me oportet doceatis'. excusata imprudentia de pace multis verbis disseruit, quam nec
11 iniqua et necessaria esset. id omnium maxime difficile erat, quod ex navibus per indutias captis nihil praeter ipsas comparebat naves; nec inquisitio erat facilis,
12 adversantibus paci qui arguerentur. placuit naves reddi et homines utique inquiri; cetera, quae abessent, aestimanda Scipioni permitti, atque ita pecunia luere
13 Carthaginienses. Sunt qui Hannibalem ex acie ad mare pervenisse, inde praeparata nave ad regem Antiochum extemplo profectum tradant, postulantique ante omnia Scipioni, ut Hannibal sibi traderetur, responsum esse Hannibalem in Africa non esse.

XXXVIII. Postquam redierunt ad Scipionem legati, quae publica in navibus fuerant, ex publicis descripta rationibus quaestores, quae privata profiteri
2 domini iussi; pro ea summa pecuniae viginti quinque milia pondo argenti praesentia exacta; indutiaeque
3 Carthaginiensibus datae in tres menses. additum, ne per indutiarum tempus alio usquam quam Romam mitterent legatos, et quicumque legati Carthaginem venissent, ne ante dimitterent eos, quam Romanum imperatorem, qui et quae petentes venissent, certiorem
4 facerent. cum legatis Carthaginiensibus Romam missi L. Veturius Philo et M. Marcius Ralla et L. Scipio
5 imperatoris frater. per eos dies commeatus ex Sicilia Sardiniaque tantam vilitatem annonae effecerunt, ut pro vectura frumentum nautis mercator relinqueret.
6 Romae ad nuntium primum rebellionis Carthaginiensium trepidatum fuerat, iussusque erat Ti. Claudius mature classem in Siciliam ducere atque inde in Africam traicere, et alter consul M. Servilius ad ur-

bem morari, donec, quo statu res in Africa essent, sciretur. segniter omnia in comparanda deducendaque 7
classe ab Ti. Claudio consule facta erant, quod patres de pace P. Scipionis potius arbitrium esse, quibus legibus daretur, quam consulis censuerant. prodigia 8
quoque nuntiata sub ipsam famam rebellionis terrorem adtulerant: Cumis solis orbis minui visus et pluit lapideo imbri, et in Veliterno agro terra ingentibus cavernis consedit, arboresque in profundum haustae; Ariciae forum et circa tabernae, Frusinone murus ali- 9
quot locis et porta de caelo tacta; et in Palatio lapidibus pluit. id prodigium more patrio novemdiali sacro, cetera hostiis maioribus expiata. inter quae etiam 10
aquarum insolita magnitudo in religionem versa; nam ita abundavit Tiberis, ut ludi Apollinares circo inundato extra portam Collinam ad aedem Erycinae Veneris parati sint. ceterum ludorum ipso die subita 11
serenitate orta pompa duci coepta ad portam Collinam revocata deductaque in circum est, cum decessisse inde aquam nuntiatum esset; laetitiamque populo et 12
ludis celebritatem addidit sedes sua sollemni spectaculo reddita.

XXXIX. Claudium consulem, profectum tandem ab urbe, inter portus Cosanum Loretanumque atrox vis tempestatis adorta in metum ingentem adduxit. Populonium inde cum pervenisset stetissetque ibi, dum 2
reliquum tempestatis exsaeviret, Ilvam insulam et ab Ilva Corsicam, a Corsica in Sardiniam traiecit. ibi superantem Insanos montes multo et saevior et in- 3
festioribus locis tempestas adorta disiecit classem. multae quassatae armamentisque spoliatae naves, quaedam fractae. ita vexata ac lacerata classis Carales tenuit. ubi dum subductae reficiuntur naves, hiems oppressit, circumactumque anni tempus, et nullo prorogante imperium privatus Ti. Claudius classem Romam reduxit.

4 M. Servilius, ne comitiorum causa ad urbem revocaretur, dictatore dicto C. Servilio Gemino in provinciam est profectus. dictator magistrum equitum P.
5 Aelium Paetum dixit. saepe comitia indicta perfici tempestates prohibuerunt; itaque cum pridie idus Martias veteres magistratus abissent, novi suffecti non essent, res publica sine curulibus magistratibus erat.
6 T. Manlius Torquatus pontifex eo anno mortuus; in locum eius suffectus C. Sulpicius Galba. ab L. Licinio Lucullo et Q. Fulvio aedilibus curulibus ludi Ro-
7 mani ter toti instaurati. pecuniam ex aerario scribae viatoresque aedilicii clam egessisse per indicem comperti damnati sunt, non sine infamia Luculli aedilis.
8 P. Aelius Tubero et L. Laetorius aediles plebis vitio creati magistratu se abdicaverunt, cum ludos ludorumque causa epulum Iovi fecissent et signa tria ex multaticio argento facta in Capitolio posuissent. Cerialia ludos dictator et magister equitum ex senatus consulto fecerunt.

XL. Legati ex Africa Romani simul Carthaginiensesque cum venissent Romam, senatus ad aedem
2 Bellonae habitus est. ubi cum L. Veturius Philo pugnatum cum Hannibale esse suprema Carthaginiensibus pugna finemque tandem lugubri bello impositum
3 ingenti laetitia patrum exposuisset, adiecit Verminam etiam Syphacis filium, quae parva bene gestae rei accessio erat, devictum. in contionem inde prodire
4 iussus gaudiumque id populo impertire. tum patefacta gratulationi omnia in urbe templa, supplicationesque in triduum decretae. legatis Carthaginiensium et Philippi regis — nam ii quoque venerant — petentibus, ut senatus sibi daretur, responsum iussu patrum ab dictatore est consules novos iis senatum daturos esse.
5 comitia inde habita. creati consules Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Aelius Paetus; praetores M. Iunius Pen-

nus, cui sors urbana evenit, M. Valerius Falto Bruttios, M. Fabius Buteo Sardiniam, P. Aelius Tubero Siciliam est sortitus. de provinciis consulum nihil ante 6
placebat agi, quam legati Philippi regis et Carthaginiensium auditi essent; belli finem alterius, alterius principium prospiciebant animis. Cn. Lentulus consul 7
cupiditate flagrabat provinciae Africae, seu bellum foret, facilem victoriam, seu iam finiretur, finiti tanti belli a se consule gloriam petens. negare itaque prius 8
quicquam agi passurum, quam sibi provincia Africa decreta esset, concedente conlega, moderato viro et prudenti, qui gloriae eius certamen cum Scipione, praeterquam quod iniquum esset, etiam impar futurum cernebat. Q. Minucius Thermus et M'. Acilius Glabrio 9
tribuni plebis rem priore anno nequiquam temptatam ab Ti. Claudio consule Cn. Cornelium temptare aiebant; ex auctoritate patrum latum ad populum esse, 10
cuius vellent imperium in Africa esse; omnes quinque et triginta tribus P. Scipioni id imperium decresse. multis contentionibus et in senatu et ad populum acta 11
res postremo eo deducta est, ut senatui permitterent. patres igitur iurati — ita enim convenerat — censu- 12
erunt, uti consules provincias inter se compararent sortirenturve, uter Italiam, uter classem navium quinquaginta haberet; cui classis obvenisset, in Siciliam navigaret; si pax cum Carthaginiensibus componi ne- 13
quisset, in Africam traiceret; consul mari, Scipio eodem quo adhuc iure imperii terra rem gereret; si 14
condiciones convenirent pacis, tribuni plebis populum rogarent, utrum consulem an P. Scipionem iuberent pacem dare, et quem, si deportandus exercitus victor ex Africa esset, deportare; si pacem per P. Scipionem 15
dari atque ab eodem exercitum deportari iussissent, ne consul ex Sicilia in Africam traiceret. alter con- 16
sul, cui Italia evenisset, duas legiones a M. Sextio

praetore acciperet. XLI. P. Scipioni cum exercitibus, quos haberet, in provincia Africa prorogatum imperium. praetoribus M. Valerio Faltoni duae legiones in Bruttiis, quibus C. Livius priore anno praefuerat, de-
2 cretae; P. Aelius praetor duas legiones in Sicilia ab Cn. Tremellio acciperet; legio una M. Fabio in Sardiniam, quam P. Lentulus pro praetore habuisset, de-
3 cernitur. M. Servilio prioris anni consuli cum suis duabus item legionibus in Etruria prorogatum impe-
4 rium est. quod ad Hispanias attineret, aliquot annos iam ibi L. Cornelium Lentulum et L. Manlium Acidinum esse; uti consules cum tribunis agerent, ut, si iis videretur, plebem rogarent, cui iuberent in Hispa-
5 nia imperium esse; is ex duobus exercitibus in unam legionem conscriberet Romanos milites et in quindecim cohortes socios Latini nominis, quibus provinciam obtineret; veteres milites L. Cornelius et L. Man-
6 lius in Italiam deportarent. Consuli quinquaginta navium classis ex duabus classibus, Cn. Octavi, quae in Africa esset, et P. Villi, quae Siciliae oram tuebat-
7 ur, decreta, ut quas vellet naves deligeret. P. Scipio quadraginta naves longas, quas habuisset, haberet; quibus si Cn. Octavium, sicut praefuisset, praeesse vellet, Octavio pro praetore in eum annum imperium
8 esset; si Laelium praeficeret, Octavius Romam decederet reduceretque naves, quibus consuli usus non esset. et M. Fabio in Sardiniam decem longae naves
9 decretae. et consules duas urbanas legiones scribere iussi, ut quattuordecim legionibus eo anno, centum navibus longis res publica administraretur.

XLII. Tum de legatis Philippi et Carthaginien-
2 sium actum. priores Macedonas introduci placuit; quorum varia oratio fuit, partim purgantium, quae questi erant missi ad regem ab Roma legati de populatione sociorum, partim ultro accusantium quidem et socios

populi Romani, sed multo infestius M. Aurelium, quem ex tribus ad se missis legatis dilectu habito substitisse et se bello lacessisse contra foedus et saepe cum praefectis suis signis conlatis pugnasse, partim postulantium, ut Macedones duxque eorum Sopater, qui apud Hannibalem mercede militassent, tum capti in vinclis essent, sibi restituerentur. adversus ea M. Furius, missus ad id ipsum ab Aurelio ex Macedonia, disseruit Aurelium relictum, ne socii populi Romani fessi populationibus vi atque iniuria ad regem deficerent; finibus sociorum non excessisse, dedisse operam, ne impune in agros eorum populatores transcenderent. Sopatrum ex purpuratis et propinquis regis esse; eum cum quattuor milibus Macedonum et pecunia missum nuper in Africam esse Hannibali et Carthaginiensibus auxilio. de his rebus interrogati Macedones cum perplexe responderent, nequaquam ipsi simile responsum tulerunt: bellum quaerere regem et, si pergat, propediem inventurum. dupliciter ab eo foedus violatum, et quod sociis populi Romani iniurias fecerit ac bello armisque lacessiverit, et quod hostes auxiliis et pecunia iuverit. et P. Scipionem recte atque ordine fecisse videri et facere, quod eos, qui arma contra populum Romanum ferentes capti sint, hostium numero in vinclis habeat, et M. Aurelium e re publica facere, gratumque id senatui esse, quod socios populi Romani, quando iure foederis non possit, armis tueatur.

Cum hoc tam tristi responso dimissis Macedonibus legati Carthaginienses vocati; quorum aetatibus dignitatibusque conspectis — nam longe primi civitatis erant — tum pro se quisque dicere vere de pace agi. insignis tamen inter ceteros Hasdrubal erat — Haedum populares cognomine appellabant — pacis semper auctor adversusque factioni Barcinae. eo tum

plus illi auctoritatis fuit belli culpam in paucorum
14 cupiditatem ab re publica transferenti. qui cum varia
oratione usus esset, nunc purgando crimina nunc quae-
dam fatendo, ne impudenter certa negantibus difficilior
venia esset, nunc monendo etiam patres conscriptos,
15 ut rebus secundis modeste ac moderate uterentur; si
se atque Hannonem audissent Carthaginienses et tem-
pore uti voluissent, daturos fuisse pacis condiciones,
quas tunc peterent. raro simul hominibus bonam for-
16 tunam bonamque mentem dari; populum Romanum
eo invictum esse, quod in secundis rebus sapere et
consulere meminerit. et hercule mirandum fuisse, si
17 aliter faceret. ex insolentia, quibus nova bona fortuna
sit, impotentes laetitiae insanire; populo Romano usi-
tata ac prope iam obsoleta ex victoria gaudia esse,
ac plus paene parcendo victis quam vincendo impe-
18 rium auxisse. ceterorum miserabilior oratio fuit
commemorantium, ex quantis opibus quo reccidissent
Carthaginiensium res: nihil iis, qui modo orbem prope
terrarum obtinuerint armis, superesse praeter Cartha-
19 ginis moenia; his inclusos non terra, non mari quic-
quam sui iuris cernere; urbem quoque ipsam ac pe-
nates ita habituros, si non in ea quoque, quo nihil
20 ulterius sit, saevire populus Romanus velit. cum flecti
misericordia patres appareret, senatorem unum in-
festum perfidiae Carthaginiensium succlamasse ferunt,
per quos deos foedus icturi essent, cum eos, per quos
21 ante ictum esset, fefellissent; 'per eosdem' inquit
Hasdrubal, 'quoniam tam infesti sunt foedera vio-
lantibus'.

XLIII. Inclinatis omnium ad pacem animis Cn.
Lentulus consul, cui classis provincia erat, senatus
2 consulto intercessit. tum M'. Acilius et Q. Minucius
tribuni plebis ad populum tulerunt, vellent iuberentne
senatum decernere, ut cum Carthaginiensibus pax fieret;

et quem eam pacem dare, quemque ex Africa exercitum deportare iuberent. de pace 'uti rogas' omnes 3
tribus iusserunt; pacem dare P. Scipionem, eundem
exercitum deportare. ex hac rogatione senatus decre- 4
vit, ut P. Scipio ex decem legatorum sententia pacem
cum populo Carthaginiensi, quibus legibus ei videre-
tur, faceret. gratias deinde patribus egere Carthagin- 5
ienses et petierunt, ut sibi in urbem introire et col-
loqui cum civibus suis liceret, qui capti in publica
custodia essent; esse in iis partim propinquos ami- 6
cosque suos, nobiles homines, partim ad quos mandata
a propinquis haberent. quibus conventis cum rursus 7
peterent, ut sibi quos vellent ex iis redimendi potes-
tas fieret, iussi nomina edere; et cum ducentos ferme
ederent, senatus consultum factum est, ut legati Ro- 8
mani ducentos ex captivis, quos Carthaginienses vellent,
ad P. Cornelium in Africam deportarent nuntiarent-
que ei, ut, si pax convenisset, sine pretio eos Cartha-
giniensibus redderet. fetiales cum in Africam ad foe- 9
dus feriundum ire iuberentur, ipsis postulantibus
senatus consultum in haec verba factum est, ut pri-
vos lapides silices privasque verbenas secum ferrent;
ut ubi praetor Romanus iis imperaret, ut foedus feri-
rent, illi praetorem sagmina poscerent. herbae id genus
ex arce sumptum fetialibus dari solet.

Ita dimissi ab Roma Carthaginienses cum in 10
Africam venissent ad Scipionem, quibus ante dictum
est legibus pacem fecerunt. naves longas, elephantos, 11
perfugas, fugitivos, captivorum quattuor milia tradi-
derunt, inter quos Q. Terentius Culleo senator fuit.
naves provectas in altum incendi iussit. quingentas 12
fuisse omnis generis, quae remis agerentur, quidam
tradunt; quarum conspectum repente incendium tam
lugubre fuisse Poenis, quam si ipsa Carthago arderet.
de perfugis gravius quam de fugitivis consultum; no- 13

minis Latini qui erant, securi percussi, Romani in crucem sublati.

XLIV. Annis ante quadraginta pax cum Carthaginiensibus postremo facta erat Q. Lutatio, A. Manlio consulibus. bellum initum annis post tribus et viginti P. Cornelio, Ti. Sempronio consulibus, finitum est septimo decimo anno Cn. Cornelio, P. Aelio Paeto consulibus. saepe postea ferunt Scipionem dixisse Ti. Claudi primum cupiditatem, deinde Cn. Corneli fuisse in mora, quo minus id bellum exitio Carthaginis finiret.

Carthagini cum prima conlatio pecuniae diutino bello exhaustis difficilis videretur, maestitiaque et fletus in curia esset, ridentem Hannibalem ferunt conspectum. cuius cum Hasdrubal Haedus risum increparet in publico fletu, cum ipse lacrimarum causa esset, 'si quem ad modum oris habitus cernitur oculis' inquit, 'sic et animus intus cerni posset, facile vobis appareret non laeti, sed prope amentis malis cordis hunc, quem increpatis, risum esse; qui tamen nequaquam adeo est intempestivus, quam vestrae istae absurdae atque abhorrentes lacrimae sunt. tunc flesse decuit, cum adempta sunt nobis arma, incensae naves, interdictum externis bellis; illo enim vulnere concidimus. nec est, cur vos otio vestro consultum ab Romanis credatis. nulla magna civitas diu quiescere potest; si foris hostem non habet, domi invenit, ut praevalida corpora ab externis causis tuta videntur, sed suis ipsa viribus onerantur. tantum nimirum ex publicis malis sentimus, quantum ad privatas res pertinet; nec in iis quicquam acrius quam pecuniae damnum stimulat. itaque cum spolia victae Carthagini detrahebantur, cum inermem iam ac nudam destitui inter tot armatas gentes Africae cerneretis, nemo ingemuit; nunc, quia tributum ex privato conferendum est, tamquam in publico funere comploratis. quam

vereor, ne propediem sentiatis levissimo in malo vos hodie lacrimasse!' haec Hannibal apud Carthaginienses. 12

Scipio contione advocata Masinissam ad regnum paternum Cirta oppido et ceteris urbibus agrisque, quae ex regno Syphacis in populi Romani potestatem venissent, adiectis donavit. Cn. Octavium classem in 13 Siciliam ductam Cn. Cornelio consuli tradere iussit, legatos Carthaginiensium Romam proficisci, ut, quae ab se ex decem legatorum sententia acta essent, ea patrum auctoritate populique iussu confirmarentur. XLV. Pace terra marique parta, exercitu in naves imposito, in Siciliam Lilybaeum traiecit. inde magna 2 parte militum navibus missa ipse per laetam pace non minus quam victoria Italiam, effusis non urbibus modo ad habendos honores sed agrestium etiam turba obsidente vias, Romam pervenit triumphoque omnium clarissimo urbem est invectus. argenti tulit in aerarium 3 pondo centum triginta tria milia. militibus ex praeda quadringenos aeris divisit. morte subtractus spectaculo 4 magis hominum quam triumphantis gloriae Syphax est, Tiburi haud ita multo ante mortuus, quo ab Alba traductus fuerat. conspecta tamen mors eius fuit, quia publico funere est elatus. hunc regem in triumpho 5 ductum Polybius, haudquaquam spernendus auctor, tradit. secutus Scipionem triumphantem est pilleo capiti imposito Q. Terentius Culleo, omnique deinde vita, ut dignum erat, libertatis auctorem coluit. Africani 6 cognomen militaris prius favor an popularis aura celebraverit an, sicuti Felicis Sullae Magnique Pompei patrum memoria, coeptum ab adsentatione familiari sit, parum compertum habeo. primus certe hic im- 7 perator nomine victae ab se gentis est nobilitatus; exemplo deinde huius nequaquam victoria pares insignes imaginum titulos claraque cognomina familiarum asciverunt.

LIBER XXXI

I. Me quoque iuvat, velut ipse in parte laboris ac periculi fuerim, ad finem belli Punici pervenisse. 2 nam etsi profiteri ausum perscripturum res omnis Romanas in partibus singulis tanti operis fatigari minime conveniat, tamen, cum in mentem venit tris 3 et sexaginta annos — tot enim sunt a primo Punico 4 ad secundum bellum finitum — aeque multa volumina occupasse mihi, quam occupaverint quadringenti duodenonaginta anni a condita urbe ad Ap. Claudium consulem, qui primum bellum Carthaginiensibus in- 5 tulit, iam provideo animo, velut qui proximis litori vadis inducti mare pedibus ingrediuntur, quidquid progredior, in vastiorem me altitudinem ac velut profundum invehi, et crescere paene opus, quod prima quaeque perficiendo minui videbatur.

6 Pacem Punicam bellum Macedonicum excepit, periculo haudquaquam comparandum aut virtute ducis 7 aut militum robore, claritate regum antiquorum vetustaque fama gentis et magnitudine imperii, quo multa quondam Europae, maiorem partem Asiae ob- 8 tinuerant armis, prope nobilius. ceterum coeptum bellum adversus Philippum decem ferme ante annis triennio prius depositum erat, cum Aetoli et belli et 9 pacis fuissent causa. vacuos deinde pace Punica iam Romanos et infensos Philippo cum ob infidam adversus Aetolos aliosque regionis eiusdem socios pacem, 10 tum ob auxilia cum pecunia nuper in Africam missa Hannibali Poenisque, preces Atheniensium, quos agro pervastato in urbem compulerat, excitaverunt ad reno-

vandum bellum. II. sub idem fere tempus et ab Attalo rege et Rhodiis legati venerunt nuntiantes Asiae quoque civitates sollicitari. his legationibus responsum est curae eam rem senatui fore; consultatio de Macedonico bello integra ad consules, qui tunc in provinciis erant, reiecta est. interim ad Ptolomaeum, Aegypti regem, legati tres missi, C. Claudius Nero, M. Aemilius Lepidus, P. Sempronius Tuditanus, ut nuntiarent victum Hannibalem Poenosque et gratias agerent regi, quod in rebus dubiis, cum finitimi etiam socii Romanos desererent, in fide mansisset, et peterent, ut, si coacti iniuriis bellum adversus Philippum suscepissent, pristinum animum erga populum Romanum conservaret.

Eodem fere tempore P. Aelius consul in Gallia, cum audisset a Boiis ante suum adventum incursiones in agros sociorum factas, duabus legionibus subitariis tumultus eius causa scriptis additisque ad eas quattuor cohortibus de exercitu suo C. Ampium, praefectum socium, hac tumultuaria manu per Umbriam, qua tribum Sapiniam vocant, agrum Boiorum invadere iussit; ipse eodem aperto itinere per montes duxit. Ampius ingressus hostium fines primo populationes satis prospere ac tuto fecit; delecto deinde ad castrum Mutilum satis idoneo loco ad demetenda frumenta — iam enim maturae erant segetes — profectus neque explorato circa nec stationibus satis firmis, quae armatae inermis atque operi intentos tutarentur, positis, improviso impetu Gallorum cum frumentatoribus est circumventus. inde pavor fugaque etiam armatos cepit. ad septem milia hominum palata per segetes sunt caesa, inter quos ipse C. Ampius praefectus; ceteri in castra metu compulsi. inde sine certo duce consensu militari proxima nocte relicta magna parte rerum suarum ad consulem per saltus prope invios

11 pervenere. qui, nisi quod populatus est Boiorum finis et cum Ingaunis Liguribus foedus icit, nihil quod esset memorabile aliud in provincia cum gessisset, Romam rediit. III. cum primum senatum habuit, universis postulantibus, ne quam prius rem quam de Philippo ac sociorum querellis ageret, relatum extemplo
2 est; decrevitque frequens senatus, ut P. Aelius consul quem videretur ei cum imperio mitteret, qui classe accepta, quam ex Sicilia Cn. Octavius reduceret, in
3 Macedoniam traiceret. M. Valerius Laevinus propraetor missus circa Vibonem duodequadraginta navibus ab
4 Cn. Octavio acceptis in Macedoniam transmisit. ad quem cum M. Aurelius legatus venisset edocuissetque eum, quantos exercitus, quantum navium numerum
5 comparasset rex, quem ad modum circa omnis non continentis modo urbes sed etiam insulas partim ipse adeundo, partim per legatos conciret homines ad arma:
6 maiore conatu Romanis id capessendum bellum esse, ne cunctantibus iis auderet Philippus, quod Pyrrhus prius ausus ex aliquanto minore regno esset, haec scribere eadem Aurelium consulibus senatuique placuit.

IV. Exitu huius anni cum de agris veterum militum relatum esset, qui ductu atque auspicio P. Scipionis in Africa bellum perfecissent, decreverunt patres,
2 ut M. Iunius praetor urbanus, si ei videretur, decemviros agro Samniti Apuloque, quod eius publicum populi Romani esset, metiendo dividendoque crearet.
3 creati P. Servilius, Q. Caecilius Metellus, C. et M. Servilii — Geminis ambobus cognomen erat —, L. et A. Hostilii Catones, P. Villius Tappulus, M. Fulvius Flaccus, P. Aelius Paetus, T. Quinctius Flamininus.
4 Per eos dies P. Aelio consule comitia habente creati consules P. Sulpicius Galba, C. Aurelius Cotta. praetores exinde facti Q. Minucius Rufus, L. Furius
5 Purpurio, Q. Fulvius Gillo, C. Sergius Plautus. ludi

Romani scaenici eo anno magnifice apparateque facti ab aedilibus curulibus L. Valerio Flacco et L. Quinctio Flaminino; biduum instauratum est; frumentique vim ingentem, quod ex Africa P. Scipio miserat, quaternis aeris populo cum summa fide et gratia diviserunt. et plebeii ludi ter toti instaurati ab aedilibus plebis L. Apustio Fullone et Q. Minucio Rufo, qui ex aedilitate praetor creatus erat. et Iovis epulum fuit ludorum causa.

V. Anno quingentesimo quinquagesimo primo ab urbe condita, P. Sulpicio Galba C. Aurelio consulibus, bellum cum rege Philippo initum est, paucis mensibus post pacem Carthagiensibus datam. omnium primum eam rem idibus Martiis, quo die tum consulatus inibatur, P. Sulpicius consul rettulit, senatusque decrevit, uti consules maioribus hostiis rem divinam facerent quibus diis ipsis videretur cum precatione ea: 'quod senatus populusque Romanus de re publica deque ineundo novo bello in animo haberet, ea res uti populo Romano sociisque ac nomini Latino bene ac feliciter eveniret'; secundum rem divinam precationemque ut de re publica deque provinciis senatum consulerent. per eos dies opportune irritandis ad bellum animis et litterae ab M. Aurelio legato et M. Valerio Laevino propraetore adlatae et Atheniensium nova legatio venit, quae regem approprinquare finibus suis nuntiaret, brevique non agros modo, sed urbem etiam in dicione eius futuram, nisi quid in Romanis auxilii foret. cum renuntiassent consules rem divinam rite peractam esse et precationi annuisse deos haruspices respondere laetaque exta fuisse et prolationem finium victoriamque et triumphum portendi, tum litterae Valerii Aureliique lectae et legati Atheniensium auditi. senatus inde consultum factum est, ut sociis gratiae agerentur, quod diu sollicitati ne obsidionis quidem

9 metu fide decessissent; de auxilio mittendo tum responderi placere, cum consules provincias sortiti essent atque is consul, cui Macedonia provincia evenisset, ad populum tulisset, ut Philippo, regi Macedonum, indiceretur bellum. VI. P. Sulpicio provincia Macedonia sorti evenit, isque rogationem promulgavit, vellent iuberent Philippo regi Macedonibusque, qui sub regno eius essent, ob iniurias armaque illata sociis populi Romani bellum indici. alteri consulum Aurelio Italia
2 provincia obtigit. praetores exinde sortiti sunt C. Sergius Plautus urbanam, Q. Fulvius Gillo Siciliam, Q. Minucius Rufus Bruttios, L. Furius Purpurio Gal-
3 liam. rogatio de bello Macedonico primis comitiis ab omnibus ferme centuriis antiquata est. id cum fessi diuturnitate et gravitate belli sua sponte homines
4 taedio periculorum laborumque fecerant, tum Q. Baebius tribunus plebis, viam antiquam criminandi patres ingressus, incusaverat bella ex bellis seri, ne pace
5 umquam frui plebs posset. aegre eam rem passi patres, laceratusque probris in senatu tribunus plebis, et consulem pro se quisque hortari, ut de integro comitia rogationi ferendae ediceret castigaretque se-
6 gnitiam populi atque edoceret, quanto damno dedecorique dilatio ea belli futura esset. VII. consul in campo Martio comitiis, priusquam centurias in suf-
2 fragium mitteret, contione advocata 'ignorare' inquit 'mihi videmini, Quirites, non, utrum bellum an pacem habeatis, vos consuli — neque enim liberum id vobis Philippus permittet, qui terra marique ingens bellum molitur —, sed, utrum in Macedoniam legiones trans-
3 portetis, an hostes in Italiam accipiatis. hoc quantum intersit, si numquam alias, Punico proximo certe bello experti estis. quis enim dubitat, quin, si Saguntinis obsessis fidemque nostram implorantibus impigre tulissemus opem, sicut patres nostri Mamertinis tu-

lerant, totum in Hispaniam aversuri bellum fuerimus, quod cunctando cum summa clade nostra in Italiam accepimus? ne illud quidem dubium est, quin hunc 4
ipsum Philippum, pactum iam per legatos litterasque cum Hannibale, ut in Italiam traiceret, misso cum classe Laevino, qui ultro ei bellum inferret, in Macedonia continuerimus. et quod tunc fecimus, cum 5
hostem Hannibalem in Italia haberemus, id nunc pulso Italia Hannibale, devictis Carthaginiensibus cunctamur facere? patiamur expugnandis Athenis, sicut Sagunto 6
expugnando Hannibalem passi sumus, segnitiam nostram experiri regem: non quinto inde mense, quem 7
ad modum ab Sagunto Hannibal, sed quinto die, quam ab Corintho solverit naves, in Italiam perveniet. ne aequaveritis Hannibali Philippum nec Car- 8
thaginiensibus Macedonas; Pyrrho certe aequabitis. aequabitis dico? quantum vel vir viro vel gens genti praestat! minima accessio semper Epirus regno Ma- 9
cedoniae fuit et hodie est. Peloponnesum totam in dicione Philippus habet Argosque ipsos, non vetere fama magis quam morte Pyrrhi nobilitatos. nostra 10
nunc comparate. quanto magis florentem Italiam, quanto magis integras res, salvis ducibus, salvis tot exercitibus, quos Punicum postea bellum absumpsit, adgressus Pyrrhus tamen concussit et victor prope ad ipsam urbem Romanam venit! nec Tarentini modo 11
oraque illa Italiae, quam maiorem Graeciam vocant, ut linguam, ut nomen secutos crederes, sed Lucanus et Bruttius et Samnis ab nobis defecerunt. haec vos, 12
si Philippus in Italiam transmiserit, quietura aut mansura in fide creditis? manserunt enim Punico postea bello. numquam isti populi, nisi cum deerit, ad quem desciscant, ab nobis non deficient. si pi- 13
guisset vos in Africam traicere, hodie in Italia Hannibalem et Carthaginiensis hostis haberetis. Mace-

donia potius quam Italia bellum habeat; hostium
14 urbes agrique ferro atque igni vastentur; experti iam
sumus foris nobis quam domi feliciora potentioraque
arma esse. ite in suffragium bene iuvantibus divis
15 et, quae patres censuerunt, vos iubete. huius vobis
sententiae non consul modo auctor est sed iam dii
immortales, qui mihi sacrificanti precantique, ut hoc
bellum mihi, senatui vobisque, sociis ac nomini La-
tino, classibus exercitibusque nostris bene ac feli-
citer eveniret, laeta omnia prosperaque portendere.'

VIII. Ab hac oratione in suffragium missi, uti
2 rogaret, bellum iusserunt. supplicatio inde a consulibus
in triduum ex senatus consulto indicta est, obsecrati-
que circa omnia pulvinaria dii, ut, quod bellum cum
Philippo populus iussisset, id bene ac feliciter eveniret,
3 consultique fetiales ab consule Sulpicio, bellum, quod
indiceretur regi Philippo, utrum ipsi utique nuntiari
iuberent, an satis esset, in finibus regni quod proxi-
mum praesidium esset, eo nuntiari. fetiales decre-
4 verunt, utrum eorum fecisset, recte facturum. consuli
a patribus permissum, ut, quem videretur ex iis, qui
extra senatum essent, legatum mitteret ad bellum
5 regi indicendum. tum de exercitibus consulum prae-
torumque actum. consules binas legiones scribere
6 iussi, veteres dimittere exercitus. Sulpicio, cui novum
ac magni nominis bellum decretum erat, permissum,
ut de exercitu, quem P. Scipio ex Africa deportasset,
voluntarios, quos posset, duceret; invitum ne quem
7 militem veterem ducendi ius esset. praetoribus L.
Furio Purpurioni et Q. Minucio Rufo quina milia so-
cium Latini nominis consules darent, quibus prae-
sidiis alter Galliam, alter Bruttios provinciam obti-
8 neret. Q. Fulvius Gillo ipse iussus ex eo exercitu,
quem P. Aelius consul habuisset, ut quisque minime
multa stipendia haberet, legere, donec et ipse quinque

milia socium ac nominis Latini effecisset: id praesidio Siciliae provinciae esset. M. Valerio Faltoni, qui praetor priore anno Campaniam provinciam habuerat, prorogatum in annum imperium est, uti propraetor in Sardiniam traiceret: is quoque de exercitu, qui ibi esset, quinque milia socium nominis Latini, qui eorum minime multa stipendia haberent, legeret. et consules duas urbanas legiones scribere iussi, quae, si quo res posceret, multis in Italia contactis gentibus Punici belli societate iraque inde tumentibus, mitterentur. sex legionibus Romanis eo anno usura res publica erat.

IX. In ipso adparatu belli legati a rege Ptolomaeo venerunt, qui nuntiarent Athenienses adversus Philippum petisse ab rege auxilium; ceterum, etsi communes socii sint, tamen nisi ex auctoritate populi Romani neque classem neque exercitum defendendi aut oppugnandi cuiusquam causa regem in Graeciam missurum esse; vel quieturum eum in regno, si populo Romano socios defendere libeat, vel Romanos quiescere, si malint, passurum atque ipsum auxilia, quae facile adversus Philippum tueri Athenas possent, missurum. gratiae regi ab senatu actae responsumque tutari socios populo Romano in animo esse; si qua re ad id bellum opus sit, indicaturos regi regnique eius opes scire subsidia firma ac fidelia suae rei publicae esse. munera deinde legatis in singulos quinum milium aeris ex senatus consulto missa.

Cum dilectum consules haberent pararentque, quae ad bellum opus essent, civitas religiosa, in principiis maxime novorum bellorum, supplicationibus habitis iam et obsecratione circa omnia pulvinaria facta, ne quid praetermitteretur, quod aliquando factum esset, ludos Iovi donumque vovere consulem, cui provincia Macedonia evenisset, iussit. moram voto publico Licinius pontifex maximus attulit, qui negavit ex in-

certa pecunia vovere licere; ex certa voveri debere, quia ea pecunia non posset in bellum usui esse seponique statim deberet nec cum alia pecunia misceri; quod nisi factum esset, votum rite solvi non posse.
8 quamquam et res et auctor movebat, tamen ad collegium pontificum referre consul iussus, si posset recte votum incertae pecuniae suscipi. posse rectiusque
9 etiam esse pontifices decreverunt. vovit in eadem verba consul praeeunte maximo pontifice, quibus antea
10 quinquennalia vota suscipi solita erant, praeterquam quod tanta pecunia, quantam tum, cum solveretur, senatus censuisset, ludos donaque facturum vovit. octiens ante ludi magni de certa pecunia voti erant; hi primi de incerta.

X. Omnium animis in bellum Macedonicum versis repente, nihil minus eo tempore timentibus, Gallici
2 tumultus fama exorta. Insubres Cenomanique et Boii excitis Celinibus Ilvatibusque et ceteris Ligustinis populis Hamilcare Poeno duce, qui in iis locis de Hasdrubalis exercitu substiterat, Placentiam inva-
3 serant; et direpta urbe ac per iram magna ex parte incensa, vix duobus milibus hominum inter incendia ruinasque relictis, traiecto Pado ad Cremonam diripiendam pergunt. vicinae urbis audita clades spatium
4 colonis dedit ad claudendas portas praesidiaque per muros disponenda, ut obsiderentur tamen prius quam expugnarentur nuntiosque mitterent ad praetorem Ro-
5 manum. L. Furius Purpurio tum provinciae praeerat cetero ex senatus consulto exercitu dimisso praeter quinque milia socium ac Latini nominis; cum iis copiis in proxima regione provinciae circa Ariminum substiterat. is tum senatui scripsit, quo in tumultu
6 provincia esset: duarum coloniarum, quae ingentem illam tempestatem Punici belli subterfugissent, alteram captam ac direptam ab hostibus, alteram oppugnari;

nec in exercitu suo satis praesidii colonis laborantibus fore, nisi quinque milia socium quadraginta milibus hostium — tot enim in armis esse — trucidanda obicere velint, et tanta sua clade iam inflatos excidio coloniae Romanae augeri hostium animos. XI his litteris recitatis decreverunt, ut C. Aurelius consul exercitum, cui in Etruriam ad conveniendum diem edixerat, Arimini eadem die adesse iuberet et aut ipse, si per commodum rei publicae posset, ad opprimendum Gallicum tumultum proficisceretur aut praetori scriberet, ut, cum ad eum legiones ex Etruria venissent, missis in vicem earum quinque milibus sociorum, quae interim Etruriae praesidio essent, proficisceretur ipse ad coloniam liberandam obsidione. 7 2 3

Legatos item mittendos in Africam censuerunt, eosdem Carthaginem, eosdem in Numidiam ad Masinissam: Carthaginem, ut nuntiarent civem eorum Hamilcarem relictum in Gallia — haud satis scire ex Hasdrubalis prius, an ex Magonis postea exercitu — bellum contra foedus facere, exercitus Gallorum Ligurumque excivisse ad arma contra populum Romanum; eum, si pax placeret, revocandum illis et dedendum populo Romano esse. simul nuntiare iussi perfugas sibi non omnis redditos esse, ac magnam partem eorum palam Carthagini obversari dici; quos comprehendi conquirique debere, ut sibi ex foedere restituantur. haec ad Carthaginienses mandata. Masinissae gratulari iussi, quod non patrium modo recuperasset regnum, sed parte florentissima Syphacis finium adiecta etiam auxisset. nuntiare praeterea iussi bellum cum rege Philippo susceptum, quod Carthaginienses auxiliis iuvisset iniuriasque inferendo sociis populi Romani flagrante bello Italia coegisset classes exercitusque in Graeciam mitti et distinendo 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

copias causa in primis fuisset serius in Africam traiciendi; peterentque, ut ad id bellum mitteret auxilia
11 Numidarum equitum. dona ampla data, quae ferrent regi, vasa aurea argenteaque, toga purpurea et palmata tunica cum eburneo scipione et toga praetexta
12 cum curuli sella; iussique polliceri, si quid ei ad firmandum augendumque regnum opus esse indicasset, enixe id populum Romanum merito eius praestaturum.
13 Verminae quoque, Syphacis filii, legati per eos dies senatum adierunt excusantes errorem adulescentiamque et culpam omnem in fraudem Carthaginiensium aver-
14 tentes: et Masinissam Romanis ex hoste amicum factum; Verminam quoque adnisurum, ne officiis in populum Romanum aut a Masinissa aut ab ullo alio vincatur; petere, ut rex sociusque et amicus ab senatu
15 appellaretur. responsum legatis est, et patrem eius Syphacem sine causa ex socio et amico hostem repente populi Romani factum, et eum ipsum rudimentum adulescentiae bello lacessentem Romanos posuisse.
16 itaque pacem illi prius petendam ab populo Romano esse, quam ut rex sociusque et amicus appelletur; nominis eius honorem pro magnis erga se regum
17 meritis dare populum Romanum consuesse. legatos Romanos in Africa fore, quibus mandaturum senatum, ut Verminae pacis dent leges, liberum arbitrium eius populo Romano permittenti; si quid ad eas addi demi mutarive vellet, rursus ab senatu ei postulandum fore.
18 legati cum iis mandatis in Africam missi C. Terentius Varro, Sp. Lucretius, Cn. Octavius. quinqueremes singulis datae.

XII. Litterae deinde in senatu recitatae sunt Q. Minucii praetoris, cui Bruttii provincia erat: pecuniam Locris ex Proserpinae thesauris nocte clam sublatam, nec, ad quos pertineat facinus, vestigia ulla
2 extare. indigne passus senatus non cessari ab sacri-

legiis, et ne Pleminium quidem, tam clarum recensque noxae simul ac poenae exemplum, homines deterrere. C. Aurelio consuli negotium datum, ut ad praetorem 3
in Bruttios scriberet senatui placere, quaestionem de expilatis thesauris eodem exemplo haberi, quo M. Pomponius praetor triennio ante habuisset; quae in- 4
venta pecunia esset, reponi; si quo minus inventum foret, expleri, ac piacularia, si videretur, sicut ante pontifices censuissent, fieri. curam expiandae viola- 5
tionis eius templi prodigia etiam sub idem tempus pluribus locis nuntiata accenderunt. in Lucanis caelum arsisse adferebant, Priverni sereno per diem totum rubrum solem fuisse, Lanuvi in templo Sospitae Iu- 6
nonis nocte strepitum ingentem exortum. iam animalium obsceni fetus pluribus locis nuntiabantur: in Sabinis incertus infans natus, masculus an femina esset, alter sedecim iam annorum item ambiguo sexu inventus; Frusinone agnus cum suillo capite, Sinuessae 7
porcus cum capite humano natus, in Lucanis in agro publico eculeus cum quinque pedibus. foeda omnia 8
et deformia errantisque in alienos fetus naturae visa; ante omnia abominati semimares iussique in mare extemplo deportari, sicut proxime C. Claudio M. Livio consulibus deportatus similis prodigii fetus erat. nihilo minus decemviros adire libros de portento eo 9
iusserunt. decemviri ex libris res divinas easdem, quae proxime secundum id prodigium factae essent, imperarunt. carmen praeterea ab ter novenis virginibus cani per urbem iusserunt donumque Iunoni reginae ferri. ea uti fierent, C. Aurelius consul ex decemvirorum 10
responso curavit. carmen, sicut patrum memoria Livius, ita tum condidit P. Licinius Tegula.

XIII. Expiatis omnibus religionibus — nam etiam Locris sacrilegium pervestigatum ab Q. Minucio erat, pecuniaque ex bonis noxiorum in thesauros repo-

sita — cum consules in provincias proficisci vellent,
2 privati frequentes, quibus ex pecunia, quam M. Valerio M. Claudio consulibus mutuam dederant, tertia
3 pensio debebatur eo anno, adierunt senatum, quia consules, cum ad novum bellum, quod magna classe magnisque exercitibus gerendum esset, vix aerarium sufficeret, negaverant esse, unde iis in praesentia sol-
4 veretur. senatus querentes eos non sustinuit: si in Punicum bellum pecunia data in Macedonicum quoque bellum uti res publica vellet, aliis ex aliis orientibus bellis, quid aliud quam publicatam pro beneficio tam-
5 quam noxia suam pecuniam fore? cum et privati aequum postularent, nec tamen solvendo aere alieno
6 res publica esset, quod medium inter aequum et utile erat decreverunt, ut, quoniam magna pars eorum agros volgo venales esse diceret et sibimet emptis opus esse, agri publici, qui intra quinquagesimum la-
7 pidem esset, copia iis fieret: consules agrum aestimaturos et in iugera asses vectigal testandi causa publi-
8 cum agrum esse imposituros, ut, si quis, cum solvere posset populus, pecuniam habere quam agrum mallet,
9 restitueret agrum populo. laeti eam condicionem privati accepere; trientabulumque is ager, quia pro tertia parte pecuniae datus erat, appellatus.

XIV. Tum P. Sulpicius secundum vota in Capitolio nuncupata paludatis lictoribus profectus ab urbe
2 Brundisium venit et veteribus militibus voluntariis ex Africano exercitu in legiones discriptis navibusque ex classe Cn. Cornelii electis altero die, quam a Brundisio
3 solvit, in Macedoniam traiecit. ibi ei praesto fuere Atheniensium legati orantes, ut se obsidione eximeret. missus extemplo Athenas est C. Claudius Cento cum viginti longis navibus et mille militum. neque enim
4 ipse rex Athenas obsidebat; eo maxime tempore Abydum oppugnabat, iam cum Rhodiis et Attalo nava-

libus certaminibus, neutro feliciter proelio, vires expertus; sed animos ei faciebat praeter ferociam insitam foedus ictum cum Antiocho, Syriae rege, divisaeque iam cum eo Aegypti opes, cui morte audita Ptolomaei regis ambo imminebant.

Contraxerant autem sibi cum Philippo bellum Athenienses haudquaquam digna causa, dum ex vetere fortuna nihil praeter animos servant. Acarnanes duo iuvenes per initiorum dies non initiati templum Cereris imprudentes religionis cum cetera turba ingressi sunt. facile eos sermo prodidit absurde quaedam percunctantis, deductique ad antistites templi, cum palam esset per errorem ingressos, tamquam ob infandum scelus interfecti sunt. id tam foede atque hostiliter factum gens Acarnanum ad Philippum detulit impetravitque ab eo, ut datis Macedonum auxiliis bellum se inferre Atheniensibus pateretur. hic exercitus primo terram Atticam ferro ignique depopulatus cum omnis generis praeda in Acarnaniam rediit. et irritatio quidem animorum ea prima fuit; postea iustum bellum decretis civitatis ultro indicendo factum. Attalus enim rex Rhodiique persecuti cedentem in Macedoniam Philippum cum Aeginam venissent, rex Piraeum renovandae confirmandaeque cum Atheniensibus societatis causa traiecit. Civitas omnis obviam effusa cum coniugibus ac liberis, sacerdotes cum insignibus suis intrantem urbem ac di prope ipsi exciti sedibus suis acceperunt. XV. in contionem extemplo populus vocatus, ut rex, quae vellet, coram ageret; deinde ex dignitate magis visum scribere eum, de quibus videretur, quam praesentem aut referendis suis in civitatem beneficiis erubescere aut significationibus adclamationibusque multitudinis adsentatione immodica pudorem onerantis. in litteris autem, quae missae in contionem recitataeque sunt, commemoratio

erat beneficiorum primum in civitatem suorum, deinde
4 rerum, quas adversus Philippum gessisset, ad postremum adhortatio capessendi belli, dum se, dum Rhodios, tum quidem dum etiam Romanos haberent: nequiquam postea, si tum cessassent, praetermissam oc-
5 casionem quaesituros. Rhodii deinde legati auditi sunt; quorum recens erat beneficium, quod naves longas quattuor Atheniensium, captas nuper ab Macedonibus recuperatasque, remiserant. itaque ingenti
6 consensu bellum adversus Philippum decretum. honores regi primum Attalo immodici, deinde et Rhodiis habiti. tum primum mentio inlata de tribu, quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus addenda, et Rhodiorum populus corona aurea virtutis
7 ergo donatus, civitasque Rhodiis data, quem ad mo-
8 dum Rhodii prius Atheniensibus dederant. secundum haec rex Attalus Aeginam ad classem se recipit; Rhodii Ciam ab Aegina, inde per insulas Rhodum navigarunt omnibus praeter Andrum Parumque et Cythnum, quae praesidiis Macedonum tenebantur, in
9 societatem acceptis. Attalum Aeginae missi in Aetoliam nuntii expectatique inde legati aliquamdiu nihil
10 agentem tenuere. sed neque illos excire ad arma potuit, gaudentes utcumque composita cum Philippo pace, et ipse Rhodiique, cum, si institissent Philippo, egregium liberatae per se Graeciae titulum habere
11 potuissent, patiendo rursus eum in Hellespontum traicere occupantemque Thraeciae opportuna loca vires colligere bellum aluere gloriamque eius gesti perfectique Romanis concesserunt.

XVI. Philippus magis regio animo est usus; qui cum Attalum Rhodiosque hostis non sustinuisset, ne
2 Romano quidem, quod imminebat, bello territus Philocle quodam ex praefectis suis cum duobus milibus peditum, equitibus ducentis ad populandos Athenien-

sium agros misso, classe tradita Heraclidi, ut Maro- 3
neam peteret, ipse terra eodem cum expeditis duobus
milibus peditum, equitibus ducentis pergit. et Maro- 4
neam quidem primo impetu expugnavit; Aenum inde
cum magno labore nequiquam oppugnasset, postremo
per proditionem Callimedis, praefecti Ptolomaei, cepit.
deinceps alia castella, Cypsela et Doriscon et Ser-
rheum, occupat. inde progressus ad Chersonesum Elae- 5
unta et Alopeconnesum tradentibus ipsis recipit; Cal-
lipolis quoque et Madytos dedita et castella quaedam
ignobilia; Abydeni ne legatis quidem admissis regi 6
portas clauserunt. ea oppugnatio diu Philippum te-
nuit, eripique ex obsidione, ni cessatum ab Attalo et
Rhodiis foret, potuerunt. Attalus trecentos tantum 7
milites in praesidium, Rhodii quadriremem unam ex
classe, cum ad Tenedum staret, miserunt. eodem 8
postea, cum iam vix sustinerent obsidionem, et ipse
Attalus cum traiecisset, spem tantum auxilii ex pro-
pinquo ostendit neque terra neque mari adiutis sociis.
XVII. Abydeni primo tormentis per muros dispositis
non terra modo adeuntis aditu arcebant, sed navium
quoque stationem infestam hosti faciebant; postea, 2
cum et muri pars strata ruinis et ad interiorem
raptim oppositum murum cuniculis iam perventum
esset, legatos ad regem de condicionibus tradendae
urbis miserunt. paciscebantur autem, ut Rhodiam 3
quadriremem cum sociis navalibus Attalique praesi-
dium emitti liceret atque ipsis urbe excedere cum
singulis vestimentis. quibus cum Philippus nihil pa- 4
cati nisi omnia permittentibus respondisset, adeo re-
nuntiata haec legatio ab indignatione simul ac de-
speratione iram accendit, ut ad Saguntinam rabiem 5
versi matronas omnis in templo Dianae, pueros inge-
nuos virginesque, infantes etiam cum suis nutricibus
in gymnasio includi iuberent, aurum et argentum in 6

forum deferri, vestem pretiosam in navis Rhodiam Cyzicenamque, quae in portu erant, coici, sacerdotes
7 victimasque adduci et altaria in medio poni. ibi delecti primum, qui, ubi caesam aciem suorum pro diruto muro pugnantem vidissent, extemplo coniuges liberosque interficerent, aurum argentum vestemque,
8 quae in navibus esset, in mare deicerent, tectis publicis privatisque, quam plurimis locis possent, ignes
9 subicerent; id se facinus perpetraturos praeeuntibus exsecrabile carmen sacerdotibus iureiurando adacti; tum militaris aetas iurat neminem vivum nisi victo-
10 rem acie excessurum. hi memores deorum adeo pertinaciter pugnaverunt, ut, cum proelium nox diremptura esset, rex prior, territus rabie eorum, pugna
11 abstiterit. principes, quibus atrocior pars facinoris delegata erat, cum paucos et confectos vulneribus ac lassitudine superesse proelio cernerent, luce prima sacerdotes cum infulis ad urbem dedendam Philippo mittunt.

XVIII. Ante deditionem ex iis legatis, qui Alexandream missi erant, M. Aemilius trium consensu, minimus natu, audita obsidione Abydenorum ad Philippum venit. qui questus Attalo Rhodiisque arma
2 illata, et quod tum maxime Abydum oppugnaret, cum rex ab Attalo et Rhodiis ultro se bello lacessitum diceret, 'num Abydeni quoque' inquit 'ultro tibi
3 intulerunt arma?' insueto vera audire ferocior oratio visa est, quam quae habenda apud regem esset. 'aetas' inquit 'et forma et super omnia Romanum nomen te
4 ferociorem facit. ego autem primum velim vos foederum memores servare mecum pacem; sin bello lacessitis, mihi quoque animos facere et regnum et Macedonum nomen haud minus quam Romanum no-
5 bile sentietis.' ita dimisso legato Philippus auro, argento quaeque coacervata alia erant acceptis homi-

num praedam omnem amisit. tanta enim rabies 6
multitudinem invasit, ut, proditos rati, qui pugnantes mortem occubuissent, periuriumque alius alii exprobrantes et sacerdotibus maxime, qui, quos ad mortem devovissent, eorum deditionem vivorum hosti fecissent, repente omnes ad caedem coniugum liberorumque discurrerent seque ipsi per omnes vias leti interficerent. obstupefactus eo furore rex suppressit impetum militum et triduum se ad moriendum Abydenis dare dixit. quo spatio plura facinora in se 8
victi ediderunt, quam infesti edidissent victores, nec, nisi quem vincula aut alia necessitas mori prohibuit, quisquam vivus in potestatem venit. Philippus imposito Abydi praesidio in regnum rediit. cum velut 9
Sagunti excidium Hannibali, sic Philippo Abydenorum clades ad Romanum bellum animos fecisset, nuntii occurrerunt consulem iam in Epiro esse et Apolloniam terrestris copias, navalis Corcyram in hiberna deduxisse.

XIX. Inter haec legatis, qui in Africam missi erant, de Hamilcare, Gallici exercitus duce, responsum a Carthaginiensibus est nihil ultra se facere posse, quam ut exilio eum multarent, bona eius publicarent; perfugas et fugitivos, quos inquirendo vestigare po- 2
tuerint, reddidisse et de ea re missuros legatos Romam, qui senatui satisfacerent. ducenta milia modium tritici Romam, ducenta ad exercitum in Macedoniam miserunt. inde in Numidiam ad reges profecti legati. 3
dona data Masinissae mandataque edita. equites mille Numidae, cum duo milia daret, accepti. ipse in navis 4
imponendos curavit et cum ducentis milibus modium tritici, ducentis hordei in Macedoniam misit. tertia legatio ad Verminam erat. is ad primos fines regni 5
legatis obviam progressus, ut scriberent ipsi, quas vellent, pacis condiciones permisit: omnem pacem bonam iustamque fore sibi cum populo Romano. 6

datae leges pacis, iussusque ad eam confirmandam mittere legatos Romam.

XX. Per idem tempus L. Cornelius Lentulus pro
2 consule ex Hispania rediit. qui cum in senatu res ab se per multos annos fortiter feliciterque gestas exposuisset postulassetque, ut triumphanti sibi invehi
3 liceret in urbem, res triumpho dignas esse censebat senatus, sed exemplum a maioribus non accepisse, ut, qui neque dictator neque consul neque praetor res
4 gessisset, triumpharet: pro consule illum Hispaniam provinciam, non consulem aut praetorem obtinuisse.
5 decurrebatur tamen eo, ut ovans urbem iniret, intercedente Ti. Sempronio Longo tribuno plebis, qui nihilo magis id more maiorum aut ullo exemplo futu-
6 rum diceret. postremo victus consensu patrum tribunus cessit, et ex senatus consulto L. Lentulus ovans
7 urbem est ingressus. argenti tulit quadraginta tria milia pondo, auri duo milia quadringenta quinquaginta. militibus ex praeda centenos vicenos asses divisit.

XXI. Iam exercitus consularis ab Arretio Ariminum transductus erat et quinque milia socium La-
2 tini nominis ex Gallia in Etruriam transierant. itaque L. Furius, magnis itineribus ab Arimino adversus Gallos Cremonam etiam tum obsidentes profectus, castra mille quingentorum passuum intervallo ab
3 hoste posuit. occasio egregie rei gerendae fuit, si
4 protinus de via ad castra oppugnanda duxisset; palati passim vagabantur per agros nullo satis firmo relicto praesidio. lassitudini militum timuit, quod
5 raptim ductum agmen erat. Galli clamore suorum ex agris revocati omissa praeda, quae in manibus erat, castra repetivere. postero die in aciem pro-
6 gressi; nec Romanus moram pugnandi fecit. sed vix spatium instruendi fuit; eo cursu hostes in proe-
7 lium venerunt. dextra ala — in alas divisum socialem

exercitum habebat — in prima acie locata est, in subsidiis duae Romanae legiones. M. Furius dextrae 8
alae, legionibus M. Caecilius, equitibus L. Valerius Flaccus — legati omnes erant — praepositi. praetor secum duos legatos, C. Laetorium et P. Titinium, habebat, cum quibus circumspicere et obire ad omnis hos- 9
tium subitos conatus posset. primo Galli omni mul- 10
titudine in unum locum conixi obruere atque obterere sese dextram alam, quae prima erat, sperarunt posse. ubi id parum procedebat, circumire a cornibus et am- 11
plecti hostium aciem, quod multitudine adversus paucos facile videbatur, conati sunt. id ubi vidit praetor, ut 12
et ipse dilataret aciem, duas legiones ex subsidiis dextra laevaque alae, quae in prima acie pugnabat, circumdat aedemque Diiovi vovit, si eo die hostis fudisset. L. 13
Valerio imperat, ut parte una duarum legionum equites, altera sociorum equitatum in cornua hostium emittat nec circumire eos aciem patiatur; simul et ipse, ut ex- 14
tenuatam mediam diductis cornibus aciem Gallorum vidit, signa inferre confertos milites et perrumpere ordines iubet. et cornua ab equitibus et medii a pe- 15
dite pulsi. ac repente, cum in omni parte caede ingenti sternerentur, Galli terga verterunt fugaque effusa repetunt castra. fugientes persecutus eques; mox et 16
legiones insecutae in castra impetum fecerunt. minus 17
sex milia hominum inde effugerunt; caesa aut capta supra quinque et triginta milia cum signis militaribus septuaginta, carpentis Gallicis multa praeda oneratis plus ducentis. Hamilcar, dux Poenus, eo proelio ce- 18
cidit et tres imperatores nobiles Gallorum. Placentini captivi, ad duo milia liberorum capitum, redditi colonis.
XXII. magna victoria laetaque Romae fuit. litteris 2
adlatis supplicatio in triduum decreta est. Romanorum sociorumque ad duo milia eo proelio ceciderunt, plurimi dextrae alae, in quam primo impetu vis hostium

3 ingens illata est. quamquam per praetorem prope debellatum erat, consul quoque C. Aurelius, perfectis quae Romae agenda fuerant, profectus in Galliam victorem exercitum a praetore accepit.

4 Consul alter cum autumno ferme exacto in pro-
5 vinciam venisset, circa Apolloniam hibernabat. ab classe, quae Corcyrae subducta erat, C. Claudius triremesque Romanae, sicut ante dictum est, Athenas missae cum Piraeum pervenissent, despondentibus iam animos
6 sociis spem ingentem attulerant. nam et terrestres ab Corintho quae per Megara incursiones in agros fieri solitae erant non fiebant, et praedonum a Chal-
7 cide naves, quae non mare solum infestum, sed etiam omnis maritimos agros Atheniensibus fecerant, non modo Sunium superare sed ne extra fretum Euripi
8 quidem committere aperto mari se audebant. supervenerunt his tres Rhodiae quadriremes, et erant Atticae tres apertae naves, ad tuendos maritimos agros comparatae. hac classe si urbs agrique Atheniensium defenderentur, satis in praesentia existimanti Claudio esse maioris etiam rei fortuna oblata est. XXIII. exules ab Chalcide, regiorum iniuriis pulsi, attulerunt occupari
2 Chalcidem sine certamine ullo posse; nam et Macedonas, quia nullus in propinquo sit hostium metus, vagari passim, et oppidanos, praesidio Macedonum fretos,
3 custodiam urbis neglegere. his auctoribus profectus quamquam Sunium ita mature pervenerat, ut inde provehi ad primas angustias Euboeae posset, ne superato promuntorio conspiceretur, classem in statione
4 usque ad noctem tenuit; primis tenebris movit et tranquillo pervectus Chalcidem paulo ante lucem, qua infrequentissima urbis sunt, paucis militibus turrim proximam murumque circa scalis cepit alibi sopitis
5 custodibus, alibi nullo custodiente. progressi inde ad frequentia aedificiis loca custodibus interfectis refracta-

que porta ceteram multitudinem armatorum acceperunt. inde in totam urbem discursum est aucto etiam tu- 6
multu, quod circa forum ignis tectis iniectus erat. con- 7
flagrarunt et horrea regia et armamentarium cum ingenti apparatu machinarum tormentorumque. caedes inde passim fugientium pariter ac repugnantium fieri coepta est. nec ullo iam, qui militaris aetatis esset, 8
non aut caeso aut fugato, Sopatro etiam Acarnane, praefecto praesidii, interfecto praeda omnis primo in forum collata, deinde in naves imposita. carcer etiam 9
ab Rhodiis refractus, emissique captivi, quos Philippus tamquam in tutissimam custodiam condiderat. statuis 10
inde regis deiectis truncatisque, signo receptui dato conscenderunt naves et Piraeum, unde profecti erant, redierunt. quod si tantum militum Romanorum fuisset, 11
ut et Chalcis teneri et non deseri praesidium Athenarum potuisset, magna res principio statim belli, Chalcis et Euripus adempta regi forent; nam ut terra 12
Thermopylarum angustiae Graeciam, ita mari fretum Euripi claudit.

XXIV. Demetriade tum Philippus erat. quo cum esset nuntiata clades sociae urbis, quamquam serum auxilium perditis rebus erat, tamen, quae proxima auxilio est, ultionem petens, cum expeditis quinque milibus 2
et trecentis equitibus extemplo profectus cursu prope Chalcidem contendit, haudquaquam dubius opprimi Romanos posse. a qua destitutus spe nec quicquam 3
aliud quam ad deforme spectaculum semirutae ac fumantis sociae urbis cum venisset, paucis vix, qui sepelirent bello absumptos, relictis aeque raptim ac venerat transgressus ponte Euripum per Boeotiam Athenas ducit, pari incepto haud disparem eventum ratus responsurum. et respondisset, ni speculator — 4
hemerodromos vocant Graeci, ingens die uno cursu emetientis spatium —, contemplatus regium agmen ex

specula quadam, praegressus nocte media Athenas
5 pervenisset. idem ibi somnus eademque neglegentia
6 erat, quae Chalcidem dies ante paucos prodiderat. excitati nuntio trepido et praetor Atheniensium et Dioxippus, praefectus cohortis mercede militantium auxiliorum, convocatis in forum militibus tuba signum ex
7 arce dari iubent, ut hostis adesse omnes scirent. ita undique ad portas, ad muros discurrunt. paucas post horas Philippus, aliquanto tamen ante lucem, appropinquans urbi, conspectis luminibus crebris et fremitu
8 hominum trepidantium, ut in tali tumultu, exaudito sustinuit signa et considere ac conquiescere agmen iussit vi aperta propalam usurus, quando parum dolus
9 profuerat. ab Dipylo accessit. porta ea, velut in ore urbis posita, maior aliquanto patentiorque quam ceterae est, et intra eam extraque latae viae sunt, ut et oppidani derigere aciem a foro ad portam possent, et extra limes mille ferme passus longus, in Academiae gymnasium ferens, pediti equitique hostium liberum spa-
10 tium praeberet. eo limite Athenienses cum Attali praesidio et cohorte Dioxippi acie intra portam in-
11 structa signa extulerunt. quod ubi Philippus vidit, habere se hostis in potestate ratus et odium diu optata caede — neque enim ulli Graecarum civitatium infestior erat — expleturum, cohortatus milites, ut se intuentes
12 pugnarent scirentque ibi signa, ibi aciem esse debere, ubi rex esset, concitat equum non ira tantum, sed etiam
13 gloria elatus, quod ingenti turba completis etiam ad spectaculum muris conspici se pugnantem egregium
14 ducebat. aliquantum ante aciem cum equitibus paucis evectus in medios hostis ingentem cum suis ardorem,
15 tum pavorem hostibus iniecit. plurimos manu sua comminus eminusque vulneratos compulsosque in portam consecutus et ipse, cum maiorem in angustiis trepidantium edidisset caedem, in temerario incepto

tutum tamen receptum habuit, quia, qui in turribus portae erant, sustinebant tela, ne in permixtos hostibus suos conicerent. 16 intra muros deinde tenentibus milites Atheniensibus Philippus signo receptui dato castra ad Cynosarges — templum Herculis gymnasiumque et lucus erat circumiectus — posuit. 17 sed et Cynosarges et Lycium et quidquid sancti amoenive circa urbem erat incensum est, dirutaque non tecta solum, sed etiam sepulchra, nec divini humanive iuris quicquam prae impotenti ira est servatum. 18 XXV. postero die cum primo clausae fuissent portae, deinde subito apertae, quia praesidium Attali ab Aegina Romanique ab Piraeo intraverant urbem, castra ab urbe rettulit rex tria ferme milia passuum. 2 inde Eleusinem profectus spe improviso templi castellique, quod et imminet et circumdatum est templo, capiendi, cum haudquaquam neglectas custodias animadvertisset et classem a Piraeo subsidio venire, omisso incepto Megara ac protinus Corinthum ducit et, cum Argis Achaeorum concilium esse audisset, inopinantibus Achaeis contioni ipsi supervenit. 3 consultabant de bello adversus Nabim, tyrannum Lacedaemoniorum, qui tralato imperio a Philopoemene ad Cycliadam, nequaquam parem illi ducem, dilapsa cernens Achaeorum auxilia, redintegraverat bellum agrosque finitimorum vastabat et iam urbibus quoque erat terribilis. 4 adversus hunc hostem cum, quantum ex quaque civitate militum scriberetur, consultarent, Philippus dempturum se eis curam, quod ad Nabim et Lacedaemonios attineret, est pollicitus nec tantum agros sociorum populationibus prohibiturum, sed terrorem omnem belli in ipsam Laconicam ducto eo extemplo exercitu tralaturum. 5 haec oratio cum ingenti adsensu hominum acciperetur, 6 'ita tamen aequum est' inquit 'me vestra meis armis tutari, ne mea interim nudentur praesidiis. 7 itaque, si

vobis videtur, tantum parate militum, quantum ad Oreum et Chalcidem et Corinthum tuenda satis sit, ut meis ab tergo tutis securus bellum Nabidi inferam
8 et Lacedaemoniis.' non fefellit Achaeos, quo spectasset tam benigna pollicitatio auxiliumque oblatum adversus Lacedaemonios: id quaeri, ut obsidem Achaeorum iuventutem educeret ex Peloponneso ad inligandam
9 Romano bello gentem. et id quidem coarguere Cycliadas, praetor Achaeorum, nihil attinere ratus, id modo cum dixisset, non licere legibus Achaeorum de aliis rebus referre, quam propter quas convocati essent,
10 decreto de exercitu parando adversus Nabim facto consilium fortiter ac libere habitum dimisit, inter adsen-
11 tatores regios ante eam diem habitus. Philippus, magna spe depulsus, voluntariis paucis militibus conscriptis Corinthum atque in Atticam terram rediit.

XXVI. Per eos ipsos dies, quibus Philippus in Achaia fuit, Philocles, praefectus regius, ex Euboea profectus cum duobus milibus Thracum Macedonumque ad depopulandos Atheniensium fines regione Eleusinis
2 saltum Cithaeronis transcendit; inde dimidia parte militum ad praedandum passim per agros dimissa cum
3 parte ipse occultus loco ad insidias opportuno consedit, ut, si ex castello ab Eleusine in praedantis suos impetus fieret, repente hostis effusos ex improviso ado-
4 riretur. non fefellere insidiae. itaque revocatis, qui discurrerant ad praedandum, militibus instructisque, ad oppugnandum castellum Eleusinem profectus cum multis inde vulneribus recessit Philippoque se venienti
5 ex Achaia coniunxit. temptata et ab ipso rege oppugnatio eiusdem castelli est; sed naves Romanae a Piraeo venientes intromissumque praesidium absistere
6 incepto coegerunt. diviso deinde exercitu rex cum parte Philoclem Athenas mittit, cum parte Piraeum pergit, ut, dum Philocles subeundo muros comminanda-

que oppugnatione contineret urbe Athenienses, ipsi Piraeum levi cum praesidio relictum expugnandi facultas esset. ceterum nihilo ei Piraei quam Eleusinis 7
facilior iisdem fere defendentibus oppugnatio fuit. a Piraeo Athenas repente duxit. inde eruptione subita 8
peditum equitumque inter angustias semiruti muri, qui bracchiis duobus Piraeum Athenis iungit, repulsus, omissa oppugnatione urbis, diviso cum Philocle rursus 9
exercitu ad agros vastandos profectus, cum priorem populationem sepulchris circa urbem diruendis exercuisset, ne quid inviolatum relinqueret, templa deum, 10
quae pagatim sacrata habebant, dirui atque incendi iussit; et ornata eo genere operum eximie terra Attica 11
et copia domestici marmoris et ingeniis artificum praebuit huic furori materiam. neque enim diruere modo 12
ipsa templa ac simulacra evertere satis habuit, sed lapides quoque, ne integri cumularent ruinas, frangi iussit. et postquam non tam ira erat satiata quam 13
irae exercendae materia deerat, agro hostium in Boeotiam excessit nec aliud quicquam dignum memoria in Graecia egit.

XXVII. Consul Sulpicius eo tempore inter Apolloniam ac Dyrrachium ad Apsum flumen habebat castra, quo arcessitum L. Apustium legatum cum parte copiarum ad depopulandos hostium fines mittit. Apus- 2
tius, extrema Macedoniae populatus, Corrhago et Gerrunio et Orgesso castellis primo impetu captis ad Antipatream, in faucibus angustis sitam urbem, venit. ac primo evocatos principes ad colloquium, ut fidei 3
Romanorum se committerent, perlicere est conatus; deinde, ubi magnitudine ac moenibus situque urbis freti dicta aspernabantur, vi atque armis adortus ex- 4
pugnavit puberibusque interfectis, praeda omni militibus concessa diruit muros atque urbem incendit. hic 5
metus Codrione, satis validum et munitum oppidum,

6 sine certamine ut dederetur Romanis, effecit. praesidio ibi relicto Cnidus — nomen propter alteram in Asia urbem quam oppidum notius — vi capitur. revertentem legatum ad consulem cum satis magna praeda Athenagoras quidam, regius praefectus, in transitu fluminis a novissimo agmine adortus postremos tur-
7 bavit. ad quorum clamorem et trepidationem cum revectus equo propere legatus signa convertisset et coniectis in medium sarcinis aciem derexisset, non tulere impetum Romanorum militum regii. multi ex
8 iis occisi, plures capti. legatus incolumi exercitu reducto ad consulem remittitur inde extemplo ad classem.

XXVIII. Hac satis felici expeditione bello commisso reguli ac principes accolae Macedonum in castra Romana veniunt, Pleuratus Scerdilaedi filius et Amynander Athamanum rex et ex Dardanis Bato Longari
2 filius. bellum suo nomine Longarus cum Demetrio, Philippi patre, gesserat. pollicentibus auxilia respondit consul, Dardanorum et Pleurati opera, cum exer-
3 citum in Macedoniam induceret, se usurum; Amynandro Aetolos concitandos ad bellum attribuit. Attali legatis — nam ii quoque per id tempus venerant — mandat, ut Aeginae rex, ubi hibernabat, classem Romanam opperiretur, qua adiuncta bello maritimo, sicut ante,
4 Philippum urgeret. ad Rhodios quoque missi legati, ut capesserent partem belli. nec Philippus segnius — iam enim in Macedoniam pervenerat — adparabat
5 bellum. filium Persea, puerum admodum, datis ex amicorum numero, qui aetatem eius regerent, cum parte copiarum ad obsidendas angustias, quae ad Pe-
6 lagoniam sunt, mittit. Sciathum et Peparethum, haud ignobiles urbes, ne classi hostium praedae ac praemio essent, diruit. ad Aetolos mittit legatos, ne gens inquieta adventu Romanorum fidem mutaret.

XXIX. Concilium Aetolorum stata die, quod Pan-

aetolium vocant, futurum erat. huic ut occurrerent, et regis legati iter adcelerarunt, et a consule missus L. Furius Purpurio legatus venit; Atheniensium quoque 2
legati ad id concilium occurrerunt. primi Macedones, cum quibus recentissimum foedus erat, auditi sunt. qui in nulla nova re nihil se novi habere, quod ad- 3
ferrent, dixerunt; quibus enim de causis experta inutili societate Romana pacem cum Philippo fecissent, compositam semel pacem servare eos debere. 'an imitari' 4
inquit unus ex legatis 'Romanorum licentiam, an levitatem dicam, mavultis? qui cum legatis vestris Romae responderi ita iussissent: 'quid ad nos venitis, Aetoli, sine quorum auctoritate pacem cum Philippo fecistis?', iidem nunc, ut bellum secum adversus Phi- 5
lippum geratis, postulant; et antea propter vos et pro vobis arma sumpta adversus eum simulabant, nunc vos in pace esse cum Philippo prohibent. Messanae 6
ut auxilio essent, primo in Siciliam transcenderunt; iterum, ut Syracusas oppressas ab Carthaginiensibus in libertatem eximerent; et Messanam et Syracusas 7
et totam Siciliam ipsi habent vectigalemque provinciam securibus et fascibus subiecerunt. scilicet sicut 8
vos Naupacti legibus vestris per magistratus a vobis creatos concilium habetis, socium hostemque libere quem velitis lecturi, pacem ac bellum arbitrio habituri vestro, sic Siculorum civitatibus Syracusas aut Messanam aut Lilybaeum indicitur concilium: — praetor Romanus conventus agit; eo imperio evocati con- 9
veniunt; excelso in suggestu superba iura reddentem, stipatum lictoribus vident; virgae tergo, secures cervicibus imminent; et quotannis alium atque alium dominum sortiuntur. nec id mirari debent aut pos- 10
sunt, cum Italiae urbes Regium, Tarentum, Capuam, ne finitimas, quarum ruinis crevit urbs Roma, nominem, eidem subiectas videant imperio. Capua quidem, 11

sepulchrum ac monumentum Campani populi, elato et extorri eiecto ipso populo, superest, urbs trunca sine senatu, sine plebe, sine magistratibus, prodigium, relicta crudelius habitanda, quam si deiecta foret. furor est, si alienigenae homines, plus lingua et moribus et legibus quam maris terrarumque spatio discreti, haec tenuerint, sperare quicquam eodem statu mansurum. Philippi regnum officere aliquid videtur libertati vestrae; qui, cum merito vestro vobis infensus esset, nihil a vobis ultra quam pacem petiit fidemque hodie pacis pactae desiderat. adsuefacite his terris legiones externas et iugum accipite: sero ac nequiquam, cum dominum Romanum habebitis, socium Philippum quaeretis. Aetolos, Acarnanas, Macedonas, eiusdem linguae homines, leves ad tempus ortae causae diiungunt coniunguntque; cum alienigenis, cum barbaris aeternum omnibus Graecis bellum est eritque; natura enim, quae perpetua est, non mutabilibus in diem causis hostes sunt. sed unde coepit oratio mea, ibi desinet: hoc eodem loco iidem homines de eiusdem Philippi pace triennio ante decrevistis iisdem improbantibus eam pacem Romanis, qui nunc pactam et compositam turbare volunt. in qua consultatione nihil fortuna mutavit, cur vos mutetis, non video.'

XXX. secundum Macedonas ipsis Romanis ita concedentibus iubentibusque Athenienses, qui foeda passi iustius in crudelitatem saevitiamque regis invehi poterant, introducti sunt. deploraverunt vastationem populationemque miserabilem agrorum: neque id se queri, quod hostilia ab hoste passi forent; esse enim quaedam belli iura, quae ut facere, ita pati sit fas: sata exuri, dirui tecta, praedas hominum pecorumque agi misera magis quam indigna patienti esse; verum enim vero id se queri, quod is, qui Romanos alienigenas et barbaros vocet, adeo omnia simul divina

humanaque iura polluerit, ut priore populatione cum infernis deis, secunda cum superis bellum nefarium gesserit. omnia sepulchra monumentaque diruta esse 5
in finibus suis, omnium nudatos manes, nullius ossa terra tegi. delubra sibi fuisse, quae quondam pagatim 6
habitantes in parvis illis castellis vicisque consecrata ne in unam urbem quidem contributi maiores sui deserta reliquerint. circa ea omnia templa Philippum 7
infestos circumtulisse ignes; semusta, truncata simulacra deum inter prostratos iacere postes templorum. qualem terram Atticam fecerit, exornatam quondam 8
opulentamque, talem eum, si liceat, Aetoliam Graeciamque omnem facturum. urbis quoque suae similem 9
deformitatem futuram fuisse, nisi Romani subvenissent. eodem enim scelere urbem colentis deos praesidemque arcis Minervam petitam, eodem Eleusine Cereris templum, eodem Piraei Iovem Minervamque; sed ab eorum 10
non templis modo sed etiam moenibus vi atque armis repulsum in ea delubra, quae sola religione tuta fuerint, saevisse. itaque se orare atque obsecrare Aetolos, 11
ut miseriti Atheniensium ducibus diis immortalibus, deinde Romanis, qui secundum deos plurimum possent, bellum susciperent. XXXI. tum Romanus legatus: 'totam orationis meae formam Macedones primum, deinde Athenienses mutarunt. nam et Macedones, cum 2
ad conquerendas Philippi iniurias in tot socias nobis urbes venissem, ultro accusando Romanos, defensionem ut accusatione potiorem haberem effecerunt, et Athe- 3
nienses in deos inferos superosque nefanda atque inhumana scelera eius referendo quid mihi aut cuiquam reliquerunt, quod obicere ultra possim? eadem haec 4
Cianos, Abydenos, Aenios, Maronitas, Thasios, Parios, Samios, Larisenses, Messenios hinc ex Achaia existimate queri, graviora acerbioraque eos, quibus nocendi maiorem facultatem habuit. nam quod ad ea attinet, 5

quae nobis obiecit, nisi gloria digna sunt, fateor ea defendi non posse. Regium et Capuam et Syracusas
6 nobis obiecit. Regium Pyrrhi bello legio a nobis Reginis ipsis, ut mitteremus, orantibus in praesidium missa urbem, ad quam defendendam missa erat, per
7 scelus possedit. comprobavimus ergo id facinus? an bello persecuti sceleratam legionem, in potestatem nostram redactam, tergo et cervicibus poenas sociis pendere cum coegissemus, urbem, agros suaque omnia
8 cum libertate legibusque Reginis reddidimus? Syracusanis oppressis ab externis tyrannis quo indignius esset, cum tulissemus opem et fatigati prope per triennium terra marique urbe munitissima oppugnanda essemus, cum iam ipsi Syracusani servire tyrannis quam capi a nobis mallent, captam iisdem armis et liberatam
9 urbem reddidimus. neque infitias imus Siciliam provinciam nostram esse et civitates, quae in parte Carthaginiensium fuerunt et uno animo cum illis adversus nos bellum gesserunt, stipendiarias nobis ac vectigales esse; quin contra hoc et vos et omnes gentes scire volumus, pro merito cuique erga nos fortunam esse.
10 an Campanorum poenae, de qua ne ipsi quidem queri possunt, nos paeniteat? hi homines, cum pro iis bellum adversus Samnites per annos prope septuaginta
11 cum magnis nostris cladibus gessissemus, ipsos foedere primum, deinde conubio atque cognationibus, postremo
12 civitate nobis coniunxissemus, tempore nostro adverso primi omnium Italiae populorum, praesidio nostro foede interfecto, ad Hannibalem defecerunt, deinde indignati se obsideri a nobis Hannibalem ad oppu-
13 gnandam Romam miserunt. horum si neque urbs ipsa neque homo quisquam superesset, quis id durius quam pro merito ipsorum statutum indignari posset?
14 plures sibimet ipsi conscientia scelerum mortem consciverunt, quam ab nobis supplicio adfecti sunt. ceteris

ita oppidum, ita agros ademimus, ut agrum locumque 15
ad habitandum daremus, urbem innoxiam stare incolumem pateremur, ut, qui hodie videat eam, nullum oppugnatae captaeve ibi vestigium inveniat. sed quid ego Capuam dico, cum Carthagini victae pacem ac libertatem dederimus?' magis illud est periculum, ne 16
nimis facile victis ignoscendo plures ob id ipsum ad experiundam adversus nos fortunam belli incitemus. haec pro nobis dicta sint, haec adversus Philippum, 17
cuius domestica parricidia et cognatorum amicorumque caedes et libidinem inhumaniorem prope quam crudelitatem vos, quo propiores Macedoniae estis, melius nostis. quod ad vos attinet, Aetoli, nos pro vobis 18
bellum suscepimus adversus Philippum, vos sine nobis cum eo pacem fecistis. et forsitan dicatis bello Punico 19
occupatis nobis coactos metu vos leges pacis ab eo, qui tum plus poterat, accepisse; et nos, cum alia maiora urgerent, depositum a vobis bellum et ipsi omisimus. nunc et nos deum benignitate Punico per- 20
fecto bello totis viribus nostris in Macedoniam incubuimus, et vobis restituendi vos in amicitiam societatemque nostram fortuna oblata est, nisi perire cum Philippo quam vincere cum Romanis mavultis.' XXXII.
haec dicta ab Romano cum essent, inclinatis omnium animis ad Romanos Damocritus, praetor Aetolorum, pecunia, ut fama est, ab rege accepta nihil aut huic aut illi parti adsensus, rem magni discriminis con- 2
siliis nullam esse tam inimicam quam celeritatem dixit; celerem enim paenitentiam, sed eandem seram atque inutilem sequi, cum praecipitata raptim consilia neque revocari neque in integrum restitui possint. deliberationis eius, cuius ipse maturitatem expectan- 3
dam putaret, tempus ita iam nunc statui posse: cum legibus cautum esset, ne de pace belloque nisi in Panaetolico et Pylaico concilio ageretur, decernerent

4 extemplo, ut praetor sine fraude, cum de bello et pace
agere velit, advocet concilium, et quod tum referatur
decernaturque ut perinde ius ratumque sit, ac si in
5 Panaetolico aut Pylaico concilio actum esset. dismissis
ita suspensa re legatis egregie consultum genti aie-
bat: nam utrius partis melior fortuna belli esset, ad
eius societatem inclinaturos. haec in concilio Aeto-
lorum acta.

XXXIII. Philippus impigre terra marique parabat
bellum. navalis copias Demetriadem in Thessaliam
2 contrahebat; Attalum Romanamque classem principio
veris ab Aegina ratus moturos, navibus maritumaeque
orae praefecit Heraclidam, quem et ante praefecerat;
3 ipse terrestris copias comparabat, magna se duo auxilia
Romanis detraxisse credens, ex una parte Aetolos, ex
altera Dardanos, faucibus ad Pelagoniam a filio Perseo
4 interclusis. ab consule non parabatur, sed gerebatur
iam bellum. per Dassaretiorum fines exercitum duce-
bat, frumentum, quod ex hibernis extulerat, integrum
vehens, quod in usum militi satis esset praebentibus
5 agris. oppida vicique partim voluntate, partim metu
se tradebant; quaedam vi expugnata, quaedam deserta
in montis propinquos refugientibus barbaris inveniе-
6 bantur. ad Lyncum stativa posuit prope flumen Be-
vum; inde frumentatum circa horrea Dassaretiorum
mittebat. Philippus consternata quidem omnia circa
pavoremque ingentem hominum cernebat, sed parum
gnarus, quam partem petisset consul, alam equitum
ad explorandum, quonam hostes iter intendissent, misit.
7 idem error apud consulem erat; movisse ex hibernis
8 regem sciebat, quam regionem petisset, ignorans. is
quoque speculatum miserat equites. hae duae alae ex
diverso, cum diu incertis itineribus vagatae per Das-
saretios essent, tandem in unum iter convenerunt. neu-
tros fefellit, ut fremitus procul hominum equorumque

exauditus est, hostes appropinquare. itaque priusquam in conspectum venirent, equos armaque expedierant; nec mora, ubi primum hostem videre, concurrendi facta est. forte et numero et virtute, utpote lecti utrimque, haud impares, aequis viribus per aliquot horas pugnarunt. fatigatio ipsorum equorumque incerta victoria diremit proelium. Macedonum quadraginta equites, Romanorum quinque et triginta ceciderunt. neque eo magis explorati quicquam, in qua regione castra hostium essent, aut illi ad regem aut hi ad consulem rettulerunt; per transfugas cognitum est, quos levitas ingeniorum ad cognoscendas hostium res in omnibus bellis praebet. XXXIV. Philippus aliquid et ad caritatem suorum et ut promptius pro eo periculum adirent ratus profecturum se, si equitum, qui ceciderant in expeditione, sepeliendorum curam habuisset, adferri eos in castra iussit, ut conspiceretur ab omnibus funeris honos. nihil tam incertum nec tam inaestimabile est quam animi multitudinis. quod promptiores ad subeundam omnem dimicationem videbatur facturum, id metum pigritiamque incussit; nam qui hastis sagittisque et rara lanceis facta vulnera vidissent, cum Graecis Illyriisque pugnare adsueti, postquam gladio Hispaniensi detruncata corpora, bracchiis cum humero abscisis, aut tota cervice desecta divisa a corpore capita patentiaque viscera et foeditatem aliam vulnerum viderunt, adversus quae tela quosque viros pugnandum foret pavidi vulgo cernebant. ipsum quoque regem terror cepit nondum iusto proelio cum Romanis congressum. itaque revocato filio praesidioque, quod in faucibus Pelagoniae erat, ut iis copiis suas augeret, Pleurato Dardanisque iter in Macedoniam patefecit. ipse cum viginti milibus peditum, duobus milibus equitum ducibus transfugis ad hostem profectus paulo plus mille passus a castris Romanis tumulum propin-

8 quum Athaco fossa ac vallo communivit; ac subiecta cernens Romana castra, admiratus esse dicitur et universam speciem castrorum et discripta suis quaeque partibus cum tendentium ordine tum itinerum intervallis et negasse barbarorum ea castra ulli videri
9 posse. biduum consul et rex, alter alterius conatus expectantes, continuere suos intra vallum; tertio die Romanus omnis in aciem copias eduxit. XXXV. rex tam celerem aleam universi certaminis timens quadringentos Trallis — Illyriorum id, sicut alio diximus loco, est genus — et Cretenses trecentos, addito his peditibus pari numero equitum, cum duce Athenagora, uno ex purpuratis, ad lacessendos hostium equites
2 misit. ab Romanis autem — aberat acies eorum paulo plus quingentos passus — velites et equitum duae ferme alae emissae, ut numero quoque eques pedesque
3 hostem aequarent. credere regii genus pugnae, quo adsueverant, fore, ut equites in vicem insequentes refugientesque nunc telis uterentur, nunc terga darent, Illyriorum velocitas ad excursiones et impetus subitos usui esset, Cretenses in invehentem se effuse hostem
4 sagittas conicerent. turbavit hunc ordinem pugnandi
5 non acrior quam pertinacior impetus Romanorum; nam haud secus, quam si tota acie dimicarent, et velites emissis hastis comminus gladiis rem gerebant, et equites, ut semel in hostem evecti sunt, stantibus equis, partim ex ipsis equis, partim desilientes immis-
6 centesque se peditibus pugnabant. ita nec eques regius equiti par erat, insuetus ad stabilem pugnam, nec pedes concursator et vagus et prope seminudus genere armorum veliti Romano parmam gladiumque habenti pariterque et ad se tuendum et ad hostem petendum ar-
7 mato. non tulere itaque dimicationem nec alia re quam velocitate tutantes se in castra refugerunt.

XXXVI. Uno deinde intermisso die, cum omnibus

copiis equitum levisque armaturae pugnaturus rex esset, nocte caetratos, quos peltastas vocant, loco opportuno inter bina castra in insidiis abdiderat praeceperatque Athenagorae et equitibus, ut, si aperto 2
proelio procederet res, uterentur fortuna, si minus, cedendo sensim ad insidiarum locum hostem pertraherent. et equitatus quidem cessit, duces caetratae 3
cohortis non satis expectato signo ante tempus excitatis suis occasionem bene gerendae rei amisere. Romanus et aperto proelio victor et tutus a fraude insidiarum in castra sese recepit.

Postero die consul omnibus copiis in aciem de- 4
scendit ante prima signa locatis elephantis, quo auxilio tum primum Romani, quia captos aliquot bello Punico habebant, usi sunt. ubi latentem intra vallum hostem 5
vidit, in tumulos quoque ac sub ipsum vallum exprobrans metum successit. postquam ne tum quidem potestas pugnandi dabatur, quia ex tam propinquis stativis parum tuta frumentatio erat, dispersos milites per agros equitibus extemplo invasuris, octo fere inde 6
milia, intervallo tutiorem frumentationem habiturus, castra ad Ottolobum — id est loco nomen — movit. cum in propinquo agro frumentarentur Romani, primo 7
rex intra vallum suos tenuit, ut cresceret socordia simul et neglegentia cum audacia hosti. ubi effusos 8
vidit, cum omni equitatu et Cretensium auxiliaribus, quantum equitem velocissimi pedites cursu aequare poterant, citato profectus agmine inter castra Romana et frumentatores constituit signa. inde copiis divisis 9
partem ad consectandos vagos frumentatores emisit dato signo, ne quem vivum relinquerent, cum parte ipse substitit itineraque, quibus ad castra recursuri videbantur hostes, obsedit. iam passim caedes ac fuga 10
erat, necdum quisquam in castra Romana nuntius cladis pervenerat, quia refugientes in regiam stationem in-

11 cidebant, et plures ab obsidentibus vias quam ab emissis
ad caedem interficiebantur. tandem inter medias ho-
stium stationes elapsi quidam trepidi tumultum magis
quam certum nuntium intulerunt castris. XXXVII. consul
equitibus iussis, qua quisque posset, opem ferre labo-
rantibus ipse legiones e castris educit et agmine quad-
2 rato ad hostem ducit. dispersi equites per agros
quidam aberrarunt decepti clamoribus aliis ex alio
3 existentibus loco, pars obvios habuerunt hostis. plu-
ribus locis simul pugna coepit. regia statio atro-
cissimum proelium edebat; nam et ipsa multitudine
equitum peditumque prope iusta acies erat, et Roma-
norum, quia medium obsederat iter, plurimi in eam
4 inferebantur. eo quoque superiores Macedones erant,
quod et rex ipse hortator aderat, et Cretensium auxil-
iares multos ex improviso vulnerabant, conferti prae-
5 paratique in dispersos et effusos pugnantes. quod si
modum in insequendo habuissent, non in praesentis
modo certaminis gloriam, sed in summam etiam belli
6 profectum foret; nunc aviditate caedis intemperantius
secuti in praegressas cum tribunis militum cohortes
7 Romanas incidere, et fugiens eques, ut primo signa
suorum vidit, convertit in effusum hostem equos, ver-
saque momento temporis fortuna pugnae est terga
8 dantibus, qui modo secuti erant. multi comminus
congressi, multi fugientes interfecti; nec ferro tantum
periere, sed in paludes quidam coniecti profundo limo
9 cum ipsis equis hausti sunt. rex quoque in periculo
fuit; nam ruente saucio equo praeceps ad terram datus,
10 haud multum afuit, quin iacens opprimeretur. saluti
fuit eques, qui raptim ipse desiluit pavidumque regem
in equum subiecit; ipse, cum pedes aequare cursu
fugientes non posset equites, ab hostibus ad casum
11 regis concitatis confossus perit. rex circumvectus pa-
ludes per vias inviaque trepida fuga in castra tandem,

iam desperantibus plerisque incolumem evasurum, pervenit. ducenti Macedonum equites eo proelio periere, 12
centum ferme capti; octoginta admodum ornati equi spoliis simul armorum relatis abducti.

XXXVIII. Fuere, qui hoc die regem temeritatis, consulem segnitiae accusarent: nam et Philippo quiescendum fuisse, cum paucis diebus hostes exhausto circa omni agro ad ultimum inopiae venturos sciret, et consulem, cum equitatum hostium levemque armaturam fudisset, ac prope regem ipsum cepisset, protinus ad castra hostium ducere debuisse; nec enim mansuros 3
ita perculsos hostis fuisse, debellarique momento temporis potuisse. id dictu quam re, ut pleraque, facilius erat. nam si omnibus peditum quoque copiis con- 4
gressus rex fuisset, forsitan inter tumultum, cum omnes victi metuque perculsi ex proelio intra vallum, protinus inde supervadentem munimenta victorem hostem fugerent, exui castris potuerit rex; cum vero integrae 5
copiae peditum in castris mansissent, stationes ante portas praesidiaque disposita essent, quid, nisi ut temeritatem regis, effuse paulo ante secuti perculsos equites, imitaretur, profecisset? neque enim ne regis 6
quidem primum consilium, quo impetum in frumentatores palatos per agros fecit, reprehendendum foret, si modum prosperae pugnae imposuisset. eo quoque 7
minus est mirum temptasse eum fortunam, quod fama erat Pleuratum Dardanosque ingentibus copiis profectos domo iam in Macedoniam transcendisse; quibus 8
si undique circumventus copiis foret, sedentem Romanum debellaturum credi poterat. itaque secundum 9
duas adversas equestris pugnas multo minus tutam moram in iisdem stativis fore Philippus ratus, cum abire inde et fallere abiens hostem vellet, caduceatore sub occasum solis misso ad consulem, qui indutias ad 10
sepeliendos equites peteret, frustratus hostem secunda

vigilia multis ignibus per tota castra relictis silenti agmine abit. XXXIX. corpus iam curabat consul, cum, venisse caduceatorem et quid venisset, nuntiatum
2 est. responso tantum dato mane postero die fore copiam conveniendi, id quod quaesitum erat, nox dieique insequentis pars ad praecipiendum iter Philippo data est. montes, quam viam non ingressurum gravi ag-
3 mine Romanum sciebat, petit. consul prima luce caduceatore datis indutiis dimisso haud ita multo post abisse hostem cum sensisset, ignarus, qua sequeretur, iisdem stativis frumentando dies aliquot consumpsit.
4 Stuberram deinde petit atque ex Pelagonia frumentum, quod in agris erat, convexit. inde ad Pluinnam est progressus nondum comperto, quam regionem hostes
5 petissent. Philippus cum primo ad Bruanium stativa habuisset, profectus inde transversis limitibus terrorem praebuit subitum hosti. movere itaque ex Pluinna
6 Romani et ad Osphagum flumen posuerunt castra. rex haud procul inde et ipse vallo super ripam amnis
7 ducto — Erigonum incolae vocant — consedit. inde satis comperto Eordaeam petituros Romanos, ad occupandas angustias, ne superare hostes artis faucibus
8 inclusum aditum possent, praecessit. ibi alia vallo, alia fossa, alia lapidum congerie, ut pro muro essent, alia arboribus obiectis, ut aut locus postulabat aut
9 materia suppeditabat, propere permuniit atque, ut ipse rebatur, viam suapte natura difficilem obiectis per
10 omnes transitus operibus inexpugnabilem fecit. erant pleraque silvestria circa, incommoda phalangi maxime Macedonum, quae nisi ubi praelongis hastis velut vallum ante clipeos obiecit, quod ut fiat libero campo
11 opus est, nullius admodum usus est. Thracas quoque rumpiae, ingentis et ipsae longitudinis, inter obiectos
12 undique ramos impediebant. Cretensium una cohors non inutilis erat; sed ea quoque ipsa, ut, si quis im-

petum faceret, in patentem vulneri equum equitemque sagittas conicere poterat, ita adversus scuta Romana nec ad traiciendum satis magnam vim habebat, nec aperti quicquam erat, quod peterent. itaque id ut 13
vanum teli genus senserunt esse, saxis passim tota valle iacentibus incessebant hostem. ea maiore cum sonitu quam vulnere ullo pulsatio scutorum parumper succedentis Romanos tenuit. deinde, iis quoque spretis, 14
partim testudine facta per adversos vadunt hostis, partim brevi circuitu cum in iugum collis evasissent, 15
trepidos ex praesidiis stationibusque Macedonas deturbant et, ut in locis impeditis difficili fuga, plerosque etiam obtruncant. XL. ita angustiae minore certamine, quam quod animis proposuerant, superatae et in Eordaeam perventum, ubi pervastatis passim agris in Elimiam consul se recepit. inde impetum in Orestidem facit et oppidum Celetrum est adgressus in paene
insula situm; lacus moenia cingit; angustis faucibus 2
unum ex continenti iter est. primo situ ipso freti clausis portis abnuere imperium; deinde, postquam 3
signa ferri ac testudine succedi ad portam obsessasque fauces agmine hostium viderunt, priusquam experirentur certamen, metu in deditionem venerunt. ab 4
Celetro in Dassaretios processit urbemque Pelion vi cepit. servitia inde cum cetera praeda abduxit, libera capita sine pretio dimisit oppidumque iis reddidit praesidio valido imposito; nam et sita opportune 5
urbs erat ad impetus in Macedoniam faciendos. ita 6
peragratis hostium agris consul in loca pacata ad Apolloniam, unde orsus bellum erat, copias reduxit.

Philippum averterant Aetoli et Athamanes et 7
Dardani et tot bella repente alia ex aliis locis exorta. adversus Dardanos, iam recipientes ex Macedonia sese, 8
Athenagoran cum expeditis peditibus ac maiore parte equitatus misit, iussum instare ab tergo abeuntibus

et carpendo postremum agmen segniores eos ad mo-
9 vendos domo exercitus efficere. Aetolos Damocritus
praetor, qui morae ad decernendum bellum ad Nau-
pactum auctor fuerat, idem proximo concilio ad arma
conciverat post famam equestris ad Ottolobum pugnae
10 Dardanorumque et Pleurati cum Illyriis transitum in
Macedoniam, ad hoc classis Romanae adventum Oreum
et super circumfusas tot Macedoniae gentes maritimam
quoque instantem obsidionem. XLI. hae causae Da-
mocritum Aetolosque restituerant Romanis; et Amy-
nandro, rege Athamanum, adiuncto profecti Cercinium
2 obsedere. clauserant portas, incertum vi an voluntate,
3 quia regium habebant praesidium. ceterum intra pau-
cos dies captum est Cercinium atque incensum; qui
superfuerunt e magna clade, liberi servique, inter ce-
4 teram praedam abducti. is timor omnis, qui circum-
colunt Boeben paludem, relictis urbibus montis coegit
5 petere. Aetoli inopia praedae inde aversi in Perrhae-
biam ire pergunt. Cyretias ibi vi capiunt foedeque
diripiunt; qui Maloeam incolunt, voluntate in deditio-
6 nem societatemque accepti. ex Perrhaebia Gomphos
petendi Amynander auctor erat; et imminet Athamania
huic urbi, videbaturque expugnari sine magno certa-
7 mine posse. Aetoli campos Thessaliae opimos ad
praedam petiere sequente, quamquam non probante
Amynandro nec effusas populationes Aetolorum nec
castra, quo fors tulisset loco, sine ullo discrimine aut
8 cura muniendi posita. itaque ne temeritas eorum ne-
glegantiaque sibi ac suis etiam cladis alicuius causa
esset, cum campestribus locis subicientis eos castra
9 Pharcadoni urbi videret, ipse paulo plus mille passuum
inde tumulum suis, quamvis levi munimento tutum,
10 cepit. cum Aetoli, nisi quod populabantur, vix memi-
nisse viderentur se in agro hostium esse, alii
semermes vagarentur, alii in castris sine stationibus

per somnum vinumque dies noctibus aequarent, Philippus inopinantibus advenit. quem cum adesse refu- 11
gientes ex agris quidam pavidi nuntiassent, trepidare Damocritus ceterique duces — et erat forte meridianum tempus, quo plerique graves cibo sopiti iacebant —, excitare alii alios, iubere arma capere, alios 12
dimittere ad revocandos, qui palati per agros praedabantur; tantaque trepidatio fuit, ut sine gladiis quidam equitum exirent, loricas plerique non induerent. ita 13
raptim educti, cum universi sescentorum aegre simul equites peditesque numerum explessent, incidunt in regium equitatum numero, armis animisque praestantem. itaque primo impetu fusi vix temptato certa- 14
mine turpi fuga repetunt castra; caesi captique quos equites ab agmine fugientium interclusere. XLII. Philippus iam suis vallo appropinquantibus receptui cani iussit; fatigatos enim equos virosque non tam proelio quam itineris simul longitudine, simul praepropera celeritate habebat. itaque turmatim equites, in vicem 2
manipulos levis armaturae aquatum ire et prandere iubet, alios in statione armatos retinet, opperiens agmen 3
peditum tardius ductum propter gravitatem armorum. quod ubi advenit, et ipsis imperatum, ut statutis signis 4
armisque ante se positis raptim cibum caperent binis ternisve summum ex manipulis aquandi causa missis; interim eques cum levi armatura paratus instructusque stetit, si quid hostis moveret. Aetoli — iam enim 5
et quae per agros sparsa multitudo fuerat receperat se in castra — ut defensuri munimenta circa portas vallumque armatos disponunt, dum quietos hostes ipsi feroces ex tuto spectabant. postquam mota signa 6
Macedonum sunt et succedere ad vallum parati atque instructi coepere, repente omnes relictis stationibus per aversam partem castrorum ad tumulum ad castra Athamanum perfugiunt. multi in hac quoque tam

7 trepida fuga capti caesique sunt Aetolorum. Philippus, si satis diei superesset, non dubius, quin Athamanes quoque exui castris potuissent, die per proelium, deinde per direptionem castrorum absumpto sub tumulo in proxima planitie consedit prima luce insequentis diei
8 hostem adgressurus. sed Aetoli eodem pavore, quo sua castra reliquerant, nocte proxima dispersi fugerunt. maximo usui fuit Amynander, quo duce Athamanes itinerum periti summis montibus per calles ignotas sequentibus eos hostibus in Aetoliam perduxerunt.
9 non ita multos in dispersa fuga error intulit in Macedonum equites, quos prima luce Philippus, ut desertum tumulum videt, ad carpendum hostium agmen misit.

XLIII. Per eos dies et Athenagoras regius praefectus Dardanos recipientes se in finis adeptus po-
2 stremum agmen turbavit; dein, postquam Dardani conversis signis direxere aciem, aequa pugna iusto proelio erat. ubi rursus procedere Dardani coepissent, equite et levi armatura regii nullum tale auxilii genus habentes Dardanos oneratosque immobilibus armis vexa-
3 bant; et loca ipsa adiuvabant. occisi perpauci sunt, plures vulnerati, captus nemo, quia non excedunt temere ordinibus suis, sed confertim et pugnant et cedunt.

4 Ita damna Romano accepta bello duabus per opportunas expeditiones coercitis gentibus restituerat Philippus incepto forti, non prospero solum eventu. minuit deinde ei forte oblata res hostium Aetolorum
5 numerum. Scopas, princeps gentis, ab Alexandrea magno cum pondere auri ab rege Ptolomaeo missus, sex milia peditum et quingentos equites mercede con-
6 ductos Aegyptum vexit; nec ex iuventute Aetolorum quemquam reliquisset, ni Damocritus nunc belli, quod
7 instaret, nunc futurae solitudinis admonens, incertum

cura gentis an ut adversaretur Scopae parum donis cultus, partem iuniorum castigando domi continuisset. XLIV. haec ea aestate ab Romanis Philippoque gesta terra; classis a Corcyra eiusdem principio aestatis cum L. Apustio legato profecta Maleo superato circa Scyllaeum agri Hermionici Attalo regi coniuncta est. tum 2
vero Atheniensium civitas, cui odio in Philippum per metum iam diu moderata erat, id omne in auxilii praesentis spem effudit. nec umquam ibi desunt linguae 3
promptae ad plebem concitandam; quod genus cum in omnibus liberis civitatibus, tum praecipue Athenis, ubi oratio plurimum pollet, favore multitudinis alitur. rogationem extemplo tulerunt plebesque scivit, ut 4
Philippi statuae et imagines omnes nominaque earum, item maiorum eius virile ac muliebre secus omnium tollerentur delerenturque diesque festi, sacra, sacerdotes, quae ipsius maiorumque eius honoris causa instituta essent, omnia profanarentur; loca quoque, 5
in quibus positum aliquid inscriptumve honoris eius causa fuisset, detestabilia esse, neque in iis quicquam postea poni dedicarique placere eorum quae in loco puro poni dedicarique fas esset; sacerdotes publicos, 6
quotienscumque pro populo Atheniensi sociisque, exercitibus et classibus eorum precarentur, totiens detestari atque exsecrari Philippum, liberos eius regnumque, terrestres navalesque copias, Macedonum genus omne nomenque. additum decreto, si quis quid postea, quod 7
ad notam ignominiamque Philippi pertineret, ferret, id omne populum Atheniensem iussurum; si quis contra 8
ignominiam prove honore eius dixisset fecissetve, qui occidisset eum iure caesurum. postremo inclusum, ut omnia, quae adversus Pisistratidas decreta quondam erant, eadem in Philippo servarentur. Athenienses 9
quidem litteris verbisque, quibus solis valent, bellum adversus Philippum gerebant; XLV. Attalus Roma-

nique, cum Piraeum primo ab Hermione petissent,
2 paucos ibi morati dies oneratique aeque immodicis ad
honores sociorum, atque in ira adversus hostem fuerant,
3 Atheniensium decretis navigant a Piraeo Andrum. et
cum in portu, quem Gaurion vocant, constitissent,
missis, qui temptarent oppidanorum animos, si volun-
4 tate tradere urbem quam vim experiri mallent, post-
quam praesidio regio arcem teneri nec se potestatis
suae esse respondebant, expositis copiis apparatuque
omni urbium oppugnandarum diversis partibus rex et
5 legatus Romanus ad urbem subeunt. plus aliquanto
Graecos Romana arma signaque non ante visa ani-
mique militum tam prompte succedentium muros ter-
6 ruere; itaque fuga extemplo in arcem facta est, urbe
hostes potiti. et in arce cum biduum loci se magis
quam armorum fiducia tenuissent, tertio die pacti ipsi
praesidiumque, ut cum singulis vestimentis Delium
Boeotiae transveherentur, urbem arcemque tradiderunt.
7 ea ab Romanis regi Attalo concessa; praedam orna-
mentaque urbis ipsi avexerunt. Attalus, ne desertam
haberet insulam, et Macedonum fere omnibus et qui-
8 busdam Andriorum, ut manerent, persuasit. postea
et ab Delio, qui ex pacto travecti eo fuerant, pro-
missis regis, cum desiderium quoque patriae facilius
ad credendum inclinaret animos, revocati.

9 Ab Andro Cythnum traiecerunt. ibi dies aliquot
oppugnanda urbe nequiquam absumpti, et, quia vix
10 operae pretium erat, abscessere. ad Prasias — con-
tinentis Atticae is locus est — Issaeorum viginti lembi
classi Romanorum adiuncti sunt. ii missi ad popu-
landos Carystiorum agros; cetera classis Geraestum,
nobilem Euboeae portum, dum ab Carysto Issaei re-
11 dirent, tenuit. inde omnes velis in altum datis mari
medio praeter Scyrum insulam Icum prevenere. ibi
paucos dies saeviente Borea retenti, ubi prima tran-

quillitas data est, Sciathum traiecere, vastatam urbem 12
direptamque nuper a Philippo. per agros palati milites 13
frumentum et si qua alia usui esse ad vescendum poterant ad naves rettulere; praedae nec erat quicquam, nec meruerant Graeci, cur diriperentur. inde Cassan- 14
dream petentes primo ad Mendaeum, maritimum civitatis eius vicum, tenuere. inde cum superato promuntorio ad ipsa moenia urbis circumagere classem vellent, saeva coorta tempestate prope obruti fluctibus, dispersi, magna ex parte amissis armamentis in terram effugerunt. omen quoque ea maritima tempestas ad 15
rem terra gerendam fuit. nam collectis in unum navibus expositisque copiis adgressi urbem, cum multis vulneribus repulsi — et erat validum ibi regium praesidium — irrito incepto regressi ad Canastraeum Pallenes traiecere. inde superato Toronae promuntorio navigantes Acanthum petiere. ibi primo ager vastatus, 16
deinde ipsa urbs vi capta ac direpta. nec ultra progressi — iam enim et graves praeda naves habebant — retro, unde venerant, Sciathum et ab Sciatho Euboeam repetunt. XLVI. ibi relicta classe decem navibus expeditis sinum Maliacum intravere ad colloquendum cum Aetolis de ratione gerendi belli. Pyrrhias 2
Aetolus princeps legationis eius fuit, quae ad communicanda consilia Heracleam cum rege et cum Romano legato venit. petitum ex foedere ab Attalo est, ut 3
mille milites praestaret; tantum enim numerum bellum gerentibus adversus Philippum debebat. id negatum 4
Aetolis, quod illi quoque gravati prius essent ad populandam Macedoniam exire, quo tempore, Philippo circa Pergamum urente sacra profanaque, abstrahere eum inde respectu rerum suarum potuissent. ita Aetoli 5
cum spe magis, Romanis omnia pollicentibus, quam cum auxilio dimissi; Apustius cum Attalo ad classem redit.

6 Inde agitari de Oreo oppugnando coeptum. valida
ea civitas et moenibus et, quia ante fuerat temptata,
firmo erat praesidio. coniunxerant se iis post expug-
nationem Andri cum praefecto Agesimbroto viginti
7 Rhodiae naves, tectae omnes. eam classem in statio-
nem ad Zelasium miserunt — Phthiotidis super Deme-
triadem promuntorium est peropportune obiectum.—
ut, si quid inde moverent Macedonum naves, in prae-
8 sidio essent. Heraclides, praefectus regius, classem ibi
tenebat, magis per occasionem, si quam neglegentia
hostium dedisset, quam aperta vi quicquam ausurus.
9 Oreum diversi Romani et rex Attalus oppugnabant,
Romani a marituma arce, regii adversus vallem inter
duas iacentem arces, qua et muro intersaepta urbs
10 est. et ut loca diversa, sic dispari modo etiam op-
pugnabant: Romanus testudinibus et vineis et ariete
admovendo muris, regii ballistis catapultisque et alio
omni genere tormentorum tela ingerentes et pondere
ingenti saxa; faciebant et cuniculos et quidquid aliud
11 priore oppugnatione expertum profuerat. ceterum non
plures tantum Macedones quam ante tuebantur urbem
arcesque, sed etiam praesentioribus animis, et casti-
gationis regis in admissa culpa et simul minarum,
simul promissorum in futurum memores. itaque cum
praeter spem tempus ibi traheretur, plusque in obsi-
dione et in operibus quam in oppugnatione celeri spei
12 esset, interim et aliud agi posse ratus legatus, re-
lictis, quot satis videbantur ad opera perficienda, traicit
in proxima continentis Larisamque — non illam in
Thessalia nobilem urbem, sed alteram, quam Cremasten
13 vocant — subito adventu praeter arcem cepit. Attalus
quoque Pteleon nihil minus quam tale quicquam in
14 alterius oppugnatione urbis timentibus oppressit. et
iam cum opera in effectu erant circa Oreum, tum
praesidium, quod intus erat, labore adsiduo, vigiliis

diurnis pariter nocturnisque et vulneribus confectum. muri quoque pars ariete incusso subruta multis iam locis prociderat; perque apertum ruina iter nocte Romani in arcem, quae super portum est, perruperunt. Attalus luce prima signo ex arce dato ab Romanis et ipse urbem invasit stratis magna ex parte muris; praesidium oppidanique in arcem alteram perfugere, unde biduo post deditio facta. urbs regi, captiva corpora Romanis cessere.

XLVII. Iam autumnale aequinoctium instabat; et est sinus Euboicus, quem Coela vocant, suspectus nautis. itaque ante hiemales motus evadere inde cupientes Piraeum, unde profecti ad bellum erant, repetunt. Apustius triginta navibus ibi relictis super Maleum navigat Corcyram. regem statum initiorum Cereris, ut sacris interesset, tenuit; secundum initia et ipse in Asiam se recepit Agesimbroto et Rhodiis domum remissis. haec ea aestate terra marique adversus Philippum sociosque eius ab consule et legato Romanis adiuvantibus rege Attalo et Rhodiis gesta.

Consul alter C. Aurelius ad confectum bellum cum in provinciam venisset, haud clam tulit iram adversus praetorem, quod absente se rem gessisset. misso igitur eo in Etruriam ipse in agrum hostium legiones induxit populandoque cum praeda maiore quam gloria bellum gessit. L. Furius, simul quod in Etruria nihil erat rei, quod gereret, simul Gallico triumpho imminens, quem absente consule irato atque invidente facilius impetrari posse ratus est, Romam inopinato cum venisset, senatum in aede Bellonae habuit expositisque rebus gestis, ut triumphanti sibi in urbem invehi liceret, petiit. XLVIII. apud magnam partem senatus et magnitudine rerum gestarum valebat et gratia. maiores natu negabant triumphum, et quod alieno exercitu rem gessisset et quod provinciam reli-

quisset cupiditate rapiendi per occasionem triumphi;
3 id vero eum nullo exemplo fecisse; consulares prae-
4 cipue expectandum fuisse consulem censebant; potuisse enim, castris prope urbem positis tutanda colonia ita, ut acie non decerneret, in adventum eius rem extrahere; quod praetor non fecisset, senatui faciendum
5 esse, ut consulem expectaret; ubi coram disceptantis consulem et praetorem audissent, verius de causa exis-
6 timaturos esse. magna pars senatus nihil praeter res gestas, et an in magistratu suisque auspiciis ges-
7 sisset, censebant spectare senatum debere. ex duabus coloniis, quae velut claustra ad cohibendos Gallicos tumultus oppositae fuissent, cum una direpta et incensa esset, traiecturumque id incendium velut ex continentibus tectis in alteram tam propinquam coloniam
8 esset, quid tandem praetori faciendum fuisse? nam si sine consule geri nihil oportuerit, aut senatum peccasse, qui exercitum praetori dederit — potuisse enim, sicut non praetoris sed consulis exercitu rem geri voluerit, ita finire senatus consulto, ne per praetorem
9 sed per consulem gereretur —, aut consulem, qui non, cum exercitum ex Etruria transire in Galliam iussisset, ipse Arimini occurrerit, ut bello interesset, quod sine
10 eo geri fas non esset. non expectare belli tempora moras et dilationes imperatorum, et pugnandum esse
11 interdum, non quia velis, sed quia hostis cogat. pugnam ipsam eventumque pugnae spectari debere. fusos caesosque hostis, castra capta ac direpta, coloniam liberatam obsidione, alterius coloniae captivos recuperatos restitutosque suis, debellatum uno proelio
12 esse. non homines tantum ea victoria laetatos, sed diis quoque immortalibus per triduum supplicationes habitas, quod bene ac feliciter, non quod male ac temere res publica a L. Furio praetore gesta esset. data fato etiam quodam Furiae genti Gallica bella.

XLIX. huius generis oratonibus ipsius amicorumque victa est praesentis gratia praetoris absentis consulis maiestas, triumphumque frequentes L. Furio decreverunt. triumphavit de Gallis in magistratu L. Furius praetor et in aerarium tulit trecenta viginti milia aeris, argenti centum milia mille quingentos. neque captivi ulli ante currum ducti neque spolia praelata neque milites secuti. omnia praeter victoriam penes consulem esse apparebat.

Ludi deinde a P. Cornelio Scipione, quos consul in Africa voverat, magno apparatu facti. et de agris militum eius decretum, ut, quot quisque eorum annos in Hispania aut in Africa militasset, in singulos annos bina iugera agri acciperet; eum agrum decemviri adsignarent. triumviri item creati ad supplendum Venusinis colonorum numerum, quod bello Hannibalis attenuatae vires eius coloniae erant, C. Terentius Varro, T. Quinctius Flamininus, P. Cornelius Cn. f. Scipio. hi colonos Venusiam adscripserunt.

Eodem anno C. Cornelius Cethegus, qui proconsul Hispaniam obtinebat, magnum hostium exercitum in agro Sedetano fudit. quindecim milia Hispanorum eo proelio dicuntur caesa, signa militaria capta octo et septuaginta.

C. Aurelius consul, cum ex provincia Romam comitiorum causa venisset, non id, quod animis praeceperant, questus est, non expectatum se ab senatu, neque disceptandi cum praetore consuli potestatem factam, sed ita triumphum decresse senatum, ut nullius nisi eius, qui triumphaturus esset, et non eorum, qui bello interfuissent, verba audiret. maiores ideo instituisse, ut legati, tribuni, centuriones, milites denique triumpho adessent, ut testes rerum gestarum eius, cui tantus honos haberetur, populus Romanus videret. ecquem ex eo exercitu, qui cum Gallis pugnaverit, si non mi-

litem, lixam saltem fuisse, quem percunctari posset
12 senatus, quid veri praetor vanive adferret? comitiis deinde diem edixit, quibus creati sunt consules L. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Villius Tappulus. praetores inde facti L. Quinctius Flamininus, L. Valerius Flaccus, L. Villius Tappulus, Cn. Baebius Tamphilus.

L. Annona quoque eo anno pervilis fuit; frumenti vim magnam ex Africa advectam aediles curules M. Claudius Marcellus et Sex. Aelius Paetus binis aeris
2 in modios populo diviserunt. et ludos Romanos magno apparatu fecerunt; diem unum instaurarunt; signa aenea quinque ex multaticio argento in aerario po-
3 suerunt. plebeii ludi ab aedilibus L. Terentio Massiliota et Cn. Baebio Tamphilo, qui praetor designatus
4 erat, ter toti instaurati. et ludi funebres eo anno per quadriduum in foro mortis causa M. Valeri Laevini a Publio et Marco filiis eius facti, et munus gladiatorium datum ab iis; paria quinque et viginti pugna-
5 runt. M. Aurelius Cotta decemvir sacrorum mortuus; in eius locum M'. Acilius Glabrio suffectus.

6 Comitiis aediles curules creati sunt forte ambo, qui statim occipere magistratum non possent. nam C. Cornelius Cethegus absens creatus erat, cum Hi-
7 spaniam obtineret provinciam; C. Valerius Flaccus, quem praesentem creaverant, quia flamen Dialis erat, iurare in leges non poterat; magistratum autem plus quinque dies, nisi qui iurasset in leges, non licebat
8 gerere. petente Flacco, ut legibus solveretur, senatus decrevit, ut, si aedilis, qui pro se iuraret, arbitratu consulum daret, consules, si iis videretur, cum tribunis
9 plebis agerent, uti ad plebem ferrent. datus, qui iuraret pro fratre, L. Valerius Flaccus, praetor designatus. tribuni ad plebem tulerunt, plebesque scivit,
10 ut perinde esset, ac si ipse aedilis iurasset. et de altero aedile scitum plebi est factum; rogantibus tribunis,

quos duos in Hispaniam cum imperio ad exercitus ire iuberent, ut C. Cornelius aedilis curulis ad magistratum gerendum veniret, et L. Manlius Acidinus decederet 11 de provincia multos post annos, plebes Cn. Cornelio Lentulo et L. Stertinio pro consulibus imperium esse in Hispania iussit.

LIBER XXXII

I. Consules praetoresque, cum idibus Martiis
2 magistratum inissent, provincias sortiti sunt. L. Lentulo Italia, P. Villio Macedonia, praetoribus L. Quinctio urbana, Cn. Baebio Ariminum, L. Valerio Sicilia, L.
3 Villio Sardinia evenit. Lentulus consul novas legiones scribere iussus, Villius a P. Sulpicio exercitum accipere; in supplementum eius, quantum militum vide-
4 retur, ut scriberet, ipsi permissum. praetori Baebio legiones, quas C. Aurelius consul habuisset, ita decretae, ut retineret eas, donec consul novo cum exer-
5 citu succederet; in Galliam ubi is venisset, omnes milites exauctorati domum dimitterentur praeter quinque milia socium; iis obtineri circa Ariminum pro-
6 vinciam satis esse. prorogata imperia praetoribus prioris anni, C. Sergio, ut militibus, qui in Hispania, Sicilia, Sardinia stipendia per multos annos fecissent,
7 agrum adsignandum curaret, Q. Minucio, ut in Bruttiis idem de coniurationibus quaestiones, quas praetor cum
8 fide curaque exercuisset, perficeret et eos, quos sacrilegii compertos in vinculis Romam misisset, Locros mitteret ad supplicium, quaque sublata ex delubro Proserpinae essent, reponenda cum piaculis curaret.
9 feriae Latinae pontificum decreto instauratae sunt, quod legati ab Ardea questi in senatu erant sibi in monte Albano Latinis carnem, ut adsolet, datam non esse.

10 Ab Suessa nuntiatum est duas portas quodque inter eas muri erat de caelo tactum; et Formiani legati aedem Iovis, item Ostienses aedem Iovis, et

Veliterni Apollinis et Sangus aedes, et in Herculis aede capillum enatum; et ex Bruttiis ab Q. Minucio 11
propraetore scriptum eculeum cum quinque pedibus, pullos gallinaceos tris cum ternis pedibus natos esse. a P. Sulpicio proconsule ex Macedonia litterae adlatae, 12
in quibus inter cetera scriptum erat lauream in puppi navis longae enatam. priorum prodigiorum causa se- 13
natus censuerat, ut consules maioribus hostiis, quibus diis videretur, sacrificarent; ob hoc unum prodigium 14
haruspices in senatum vocati, atque ex responso eorum supplicatio populo in diem unum indicta et ad omnia pulvinaria res divinae factae.

II. Carthaginienses eo anno argentum in stipendium impositum primum Romam advexerunt. id quia pro- 2
bum non esse quaestores renuntiaverant, experientibusque pars quarta decocta erat, pecunia Romae mutua sumpta intertrimentum argenti expleverunt. petentibus 3
deinde, ut, si iam videretur senatui, obsides sibi redderentur, centum redditi obsides; de ceteris, si in fide permanerent, spes facta. petentibus iisdem, qui non 4
reddebantur obsides, ut ab Norba, ubi parum commode essent, alio traducerentur, concessum, ut Signiam et Ferentinum transirent. Gaditanis item petentibus re- 5
missum, ne praefectus Cadis mitteretur adversus id quod iis in fidem populi Romani venientibus cum L. Marcio Septimo convenisset. et Narniensium le- 6
gatis querentibus ad numerum sibi colonos non esse et immixtos quosdam non sui generis pro colonis se gerere, earum rerum causa tresviros creare L. Cornelius consul iussus. creati P. et Sex. Aelii — Paetis 7
fuit ambobus cognomen — et Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. quod Narniensibus datum, ut colonorum numerus augeretur, id Cosani petentes non impetraverunt.

III. Rebus, quae Romae agendae erant, perfectis consules in provincias profecti. P. Villius in Mace- 2

doniam cum venisset, atrox seditio militum iam ante
3 irritata nec satis in principio compressa excepit. duo milia ea militum fuere, quae ex Africa post devictum Hannibalem in Siciliam, inde anno fere post in Macedoniam pro voluntariis transportata erant. id voluntate factum negabant: ab tribunis recusantes in
4 naves impositos. sed utcumque, seu iniuncta seu suscepta foret militia, et eam exhaustam, et finem ali-
5 quem militandi fieri aequum esse. multis annis sese Italiam non vidisse; consenuisse sub armis in Sicilia, Africa, Macedonia; confectos iam se labore opere,
6 exangues tot acceptis vulneribus esse. consul causam postulandae missionis probabilem, si modeste peteretur, videri dixit; seditionis nec eam nec ullam aliam satis
7 iustam causam esse. itaque si manere ad signa et dicto parere velint, se de missione eorum ad senatum scripturum; modestia facilius quam pertinacia quod velint impetraturos.

IV. Thaumacos eo tempore Philippus summa vi oppugnabat aggeribus vineisque et iam arietem muris
2 admoturus erat; ceterum incepto absistere eum coegit subitus Aetolorum adventus, qui Archidamo duce inter custodias Macedonum moenia ingressi nec nocte nec die finem ullum erumpendi nunc in stationes nunc in opera Macedonum faciebant. et adiuvabat eos natura
3 ipsa loci. namque Thaumaci a Pylis sinuque Maliaco per Lamiam eunti loco alto siti sunt in ipsis faucibus,
4 imminentes, quam Coelen vocant, Thessaliae; quae transeunti confragosa loca implicatasque flexibus vallium vias, ubi ventum ad hanc urbem est, repente velut maris vasti sic universa panditur planities, ut subiectos campos terminare oculis haud facile queas.
5 ab eo miraculo Thaumaci appellati. nec altitudine solum tuta urbs, sed quod saxo undique absciso ru-
6 pibus imposita est. hae difficultates et quod haud

satis dignum tanti laboris periculique pretium erat, ut absisteret incepto Philippus, effecerunt. hiems quo- 7
que iam instabat, cum inde abscessit et in Macedoniam in hiberna copias reduxit. V. ibi ceteri quidem data quanticumque quiete temporis simul animos corporaque remiserant; Philippum, quantum ab adsiduis laboribus 2
itinerum pugnarumque laxaverat animum, tanto magis intentum in universum eventum belli curae angunt, non hostis modo timentem, qui terra marique urgebant, sed nunc sociorum, nunc etiam popularium ani- 3
mos, ne et illi ad spem amicitiae Romanorum deficerent, et Macedonas ipsos cupido novandi res caperet. itaque et in Achaiam legatos misit, simul qui iusiu- 4
randum — ita enim pepigerant, quotannis iuraturos in verba Philippi — exigerent, simul qui redderent Achaeis Orchomenon et Heraean et Triphylian Eleis ademptam, Megalopolitis Alipheran, contendentibus num- 5
quam eam urbem fuisse ex Triphylia, sed sibi debere restitui, quia una esset ex iis, quae ad condendam Megalen polin ex concilio Arcadum contributae forent. et cum Achaeis quidem per haec societatem firmabat; 6
ad Macedonum animos cum Heracliden amicum maxime 7
invidiae sibi esse cerneret, multis criminibus oneratum in vincla coniecit ingenti popularium gaudio. bellum 8
si quando umquam ante alias, tum magna cura apparavit exercuitque in armis et Macedonas et mercen- 9
narios milites principioque veris cum Athenagora omnia externa auxilia quodque levis armaturae erat in Chaoniam per Epirum ad occupandas quae ad Antigoneam fauces sunt — Stena vocant Graeci — misit. ipse 10
post paucis diebus graviore secutus agmine, cum situm omnem regionis adspexisset, maxime idoneum ad muniendum locum credidit esse praeter amnem Aoum. is inter montes, quorum alterum Meropum, alterum 11
Asnaum incolae vocant, angusta valle fluit, iter exi-

guum super ripam praebens. Asnaum Athenagoram cum levi armatura tenere et communire iubet; ipse
12 in Meropo posuit castra. qua abscisae rupes erant, statio paucorum armatorum tenebat; qua minus tuta erant alia fossis, alia vallo, alia turribus muniebat.
13 magna tormentorum etiam vis, ut missilibus procul arcerent hostem, idoneis locis disposita est. tabernaculum regium pro vallo in conspecto maxime tumulo, ut terrorem hostibus suisque spem ex fiducia faceret, positum.

VI. Consul per Charopum Epiroten certior factus, quos saltus cum exercitu insedisset rex, et ipse, cum Corcyrae hibernasset, vere primo in continentem tra-
2 vectus ad hostem ducere pergit. quinque milia ferme ab regiis castris cum abesset, loco munito relictis legionibus ipse cum expeditis progressus ad speculanda
3 loca postero die consilium habuit, utrum per insessum ab hoste saltum, quamquam labor ingens periculumque proponeretur, transitum temptaret, an eodem itinere, quo priore anno Sulpicius Macedoniam intraverat, cir-
4 cumduceret copias. hoc consilium per multos dies agitanti ei nuntius venit T. Quinctium consulem factum sortitumque provinciam Macedoniam maturato itinere iam Corcyram traiecisse.

5 Valerius Antias intrasse saltum Villium tradit, quia recto itinere nequiverit omnibus ab rege insessis, secutum vallem, per quam mediam fertur Aous amnis,
6 ponte raptim facto in ripam, in qua erant castra regia, transgressum acie conflixisse; fusum fugatumque
7 regem, castris exutum; duodecim milia hostium eo proelio caesa, capta duo milia et ducentos et signa militaria centum triginta duo, equos ducentos triginta; aedem etiam Iovi in eo proelio votam, si res prospere
8 gesta esset. ceteri Graeci Latinique auctores, quorum quidem ego legi annales, nihil memorabile a Villio

actum integrumque bellum insequentem consulem T. Quinctium accepisse tradunt.

VII. Dum haec in Macedonia geruntur, consul alter L. Lentulus, qui Romae substiterat, comitia censoribus creandis habuit. multis claris petentibus viris creati censores P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus et P. Aelius Paetus. ii magna inter se concordia et senatum sine ullius nota legerunt et portoria venalicium Capuae Puteolisque, item Castrum portorium, quo in loco nunc oppidum est, fruendum locarunt colonosque eo trecentos — is enim numerus finitus ab senatu erat — adscripserunt et sub Tifatis Capuae agrum vendiderunt.

Sub idem tempus L. Manlius Acidinus ex Hispania decedens, prohibitus a P. Porcio Laeca tribuno plebis ne ovans rediret, cum ab senatu impetrasset, privatus urbem ingrediens mille ducenta pondo argenti, triginta pondo ferme auri in aerarium tulit.

Eodem anno Cn. Baebius Tamphilus, qui ab C. Aurelio, consule anni prioris, provinciam Galliam acceperat, temere ingressus Gallorum Insubrum finis prope cum toto exercitu est circumventus: supra sex milia et septingentos milites amisit; tanta ex eo bello, quod iam timeri desierat, clades accepta est. ea res L. Lentulum consulem ab urbe excivit. qui ut in provinciam venit plenam tumultus, trepido exercitu accepto praetorem multis probris increpitum provincia decedere atque abire Romam iussit. neque ipse consul memorabile quicquam gessit, comitiorum causa Romam revocatus; quae ipsa per M. Fulvium et M'. Curium tribunos plebis impediebantur, quod T. Quinctium Flamininum consulatum ex quaestura petere non patiebantur: iam aedilitatem praeturamque fastidiri, nec per honorum gradus, documentum sui dantis, nobiles

homines tendere ad consulatum, sed transcendendo
11 media summa imis continuare. res ex campestri certamine in senatum pervenit. patres censuerunt, qui honorem, quem sibi capere per leges liceret, peteret, in eo populo creandi, quem velit, potestatem fieri
12 aequum esse. in auctoritate patrum fuere tribuni. creati consules Sex. Aelius Paetus et T. Quinctius Fla-
13 mininus. inde praetorum comitia habita. creati L. Cornelius Merula, M. Claudius Marcellus, M. Porcius Cato, C. Helvius, qui aediles plebis fuerant. ab iis ludi plebeii instaurati; et epulum Iovis fuit ludorum
14 causa. et ab aedilibus curulibus C. Valerio Flacco, flamine Diali, et C. Cornelio Cethego ludi Romani
15 magno apparatu facti. Ser. et C. Sulpicii Galbae pontifices eo anno mortui sunt; in eorum locum M. Aemilius Lepidus et Cn. Cornelius Scipio pontifices suffecti sunt.

VIII. Sex. Aelius Paetus T. Quinctius Flamininus magistratu inito senatum in Capitolio cum habuissent, decreverunt patres, ut provincias Macedoniam atque Italiam consules compararent inter se sortirenturve;
2 utri eorum Macedonia evenisset, in supplementum legionum tria milia militum Romanorum scriberet et trecentos equites, item sociorum Latini nominis quin-
3 que milia peditum, quingentos equites. alteri consuli novus omnis exercitus decretus. L. Lentulo, prioris anni consuli, prorogatum imperium, vetitusque aut ipse provincia decedere prius aut veterem deducere exercitum, quam cum legionibus novis consul venisset.
4 sortiti consules provincias; Aelio Italia, Quinctio Ma-
5 cedonia evenit. praetores L. Cornelius Merula urbanam, M. Claudius Siciliam, M. Porcius Sardiniam, C.
6 Helvius Galliam est sortitus. dilectus inde haberi est coeptus; nam praeter consulares exercitus praetoribus
7 quoque iussi scribere milites erant, Marcello in Sici-

liam quattuor milia peditum socium et Latini nominis et trecentos equites, Catoni in Sardiniam ex eodem genere militum duo milia peditum, ducentos equites, ita ut ii praetores ambo, cum in provincias venissent, 8
veteres dimitterent pedites equitesque.

Attali deinde regis legatos in senatum consules 9
introduxerunt. ii regem classe sua copiisque omnibus terra marique rem Romanam iuvare quaeque imperarent Romani consules, impigre atque oboedienter ad eam diem fecisse cum exposuissent, vereri dixerunt, ne id praestare ei per Antiochum regem ultra non 10
liceret; vacuum namque praesidiis navalibus terrestribusque regnum Attali Antiochum invasisse. itaque 11
Attalum orare patres conscriptos, si sua classi suaque opera uti ad Macedonicum bellum vellent, mitterent ipsi praesidium ad regnum eius tutandum; si id nollent, ipsum ad sua defendenda cum classe ac reliquis copiis redire paterentur. senatus legatis ita respon- 12
deri iussit: quod rex Attalus classe copiisque aliis duces Romanos iuvisset, id gratum senatui esse; auxilia 13
nec ipsos missuros Attalo adversus Antiochum, socium et amicum populi Romani, nec Attali auxilia retenturos ultra, quam regi commodum esset; semper po- 14
pulum Romanum alienis rebus arbitrio alieno usum; et principium et finem in potestatem ipsorum, qui ope sua velint adiutos Romanos, esse; legatos ad 15
Antiochum missuros, qui nuntient Attali naviumque eius et militum opera adversus Philippum communem hostem uti populum Romanum; gratum eum facturum 16
senatui, si regno Attali abstineat belloque absistat; aequum esse socios et amicos populi Romani reges inter se quoque ipsos pacem servare.

IX. Consulem T. Quinctium ita habito dilectu, ut eos fere legeret, qui in Hispania aut Africa meruissent, spectatae virtutis milites, properantem in

provinciam prodigia nuntiata atque eorum procuratio
2 Romae tenuerunt. de caelo tacta erant via publica
Veis, forum et aedes Iovis Lanuvi, Herculis aedes
Ardeae, Capuae murus et turres et aedes, quae alba
3 dicitur; caelum ardere visum erat Arreti; terra Velitris
trium iugerum spatio caverna ingenti desederat; Su-
essae Auruncae nuntiabant agnum cum duobus capi-
tibus natum et Sinuessae porcum cum humano capite.
4 eorum prodigiorum causa supplicatio unum diem ha-
bita, et consules rebus divinis operam dederunt pla-
catisque diis in provincias profecti sunt, Aelius cum
5 Helvio praetore in Galliam; exercitumque ab L. Lentulo
acceptum, quem dimittere debebat, praetori tradidit,
ipse novis legionibus, quas secum adduxerat, bellum
gesturus. neque memorabilis rei quicquam gessit.

6 T. Quinctius alter consul maturius, quam priores
soliti erant consules, a Brundisio cum tramisisset,
Corcyram tenuit cum octo milibus peditum, equitibus
7 octingentis. ab Corcyra in proxima Epiri quinque-
remi traiecit et in castra Romana magnis itineribus
8 contendit. inde Villio dimisso paucos moratus dies,
dum se copiae ab Corcyra adsequerentur, consilium
habuit, utrum recto itinere per castra hostium vim
9 facere conaretur, an ne temptata quidem re tanti la-
boris ac periculi per Dassaretios potius Lyncumque
10 tuto circuitu Macedoniam intraret. vicissetque ea
sententia, ni timuisset, ne, cum a mari longius reces-
sisset, emisso e manibus hoste, si, quod antea fecerat,
solitudinibus silvisque se tutari rex voluisset, sine
11 ullo effectu aestas extraheretur. utcumque esset igitur,
illo ipso tam iniquo loco adgredi hostem placuit. sed
magis fieri id placebat, quam, quomodo fieret, satis
expediebant; X. diesque quadraginta sine ullo conatu
sedentes in conspectu hostium absumpserant. inde
spes data Philippo est per Epirotarum gentem temp-

tandae pacis; habitoque concilio delecti ad eam rem 2
agendam Pausanias praetor et Alexander magister
equitum consulem et regem, ubi in artissimas ripas
Aous cogitur amnis, in colloquium adduxerunt. summa 3
postulatorum consulis erat: praesidia ex civitatibus
rex deduceret; iis, quorum agros urbesque populatus
esset, redderet res, quae comparerent; ceterorum aequo
arbitrio aestimatio fieret. Philippus aliam aliarum 4
civitatum condicionem esse respondit: quas ipse ce-
pisset, eas liberaturum; quae sibi traditae a maioribus
essent, earum hereditaria ac iusta possessione non ex-
cessurum. si quas quererentur belli clades eae civi- 5
tates, cum quibus bellatum foret, arbitro quo vellent
populorum, cum quibus pax utrisque fuisset, se usu-
rum. consul nihil ad id quidem arbitro aut iudice 6
opus esse dicere; cui enim non apparere ab eo, qui
prior arma intulisset, iniuriam ortam, nec Philippum
ab ullis bello lacessitum priorem vim omnibus fe-
cisse? inde cum ageretur, quae civitates liberandae 7
essent, Thessalos primos omnium nominavit consul.
ad id vero adeo accensus indignatione est rex, ut ex-
clamaret: 'quid victo gravius imperares, T. Quincti?',
atque ita se ex colloquio proripuit; et temperatum 8
aegre est, quin missilibus, quia dirempti medio amni
fuerant, pugnam inter se consererent. postero die per 9
excursiones ab stationibus primo in planitie satis ad
id patenti multa levia commissa proelia sunt; deinde 10
recipientibus se regiis in arta et confragosa loca avi-
ditate accensi certaminis eo quoque Romani penetra-
vere. pro his ordo et militaris disciplina et genus 11
armorum erat, aptum tegendis corporibus; pro hoste
loca et catapultae ballistaeque in omnibus prope ru-
pibus quasi in muro dispositae. multis hinc atque 12
illinc vulneribus acceptis, cum etiam, ut in proelio
iusto, aliquot cecidissent, nox pugnae finem fecit.

XI. Cum in hoc statu res esset, pastor quidam
a Charopo, principe Epirotarum, missus deducitur ad
2 consulem. is se in eo saltu, qui regiis tum teneretur
castris, armentum pascere solitum ait omnes montium
3 eorum anfractus callesque nosse. si secum aliquos
consul mittere velit, se non iniquo nec perdifficili
4 aditu super caput hostium eos deducturum. haec ubi
consul audivit, percunctatum ad Charopum mittit,
satisne credendum super tanta re agresti censeret.
Charopus renuntiari iubet, ita crederet, ut suae potius
5 omnia quam illius potestatis essent. cum magis vellet
credere quam auderet mixtumque gaudio et metu ani-
mum gereret, auctoritate motus Charopi experiri spem
6 oblatam statuit et, ut averteret regem ab suspicione,
biduo insequenti lacessere hostem dispositis ab omni
parte copiis succedentibusque integris in locum de-
7 fessorum non destitit. quattuor milia inde lecta pe-
ditum et trecentos equites tribuno militum tradit.
equites, quoad loca patiantur, ducere iubet; ubi ad
invia equiti ventum sit, in planitie aliqua locari equi-
8 tatum, pedites, qua dux monstraret viam, ire; ubi, ut
polliceatur, super caput hostium perventum sit, fumo
dare signum nec antea clamorem tollere, quam ab se
9 signo recepto pugnam coeptam arbitrari posset. nocte
itinera fieri iubet — et pernox forte luna erat —;
interdiu cibi quietisque sumeret tempus. ducem pro-
missis ingentibus oneratum, si fides extet, vinctum
10 tamen tribuno tradit. his copiis ita dimissis eo in-
tentius Romanus undique instat apud stationes.
XII. interim die tertio cum verticem, quem petierant,
Romani cepisse ac tenere se fumo significarent, tum
vero trifariam divisis copiis consul valle media cum
militum robore succedit, cornua dextra laevaque ad-
2 movet castris; nec segnius hostes obviam eunt. et
dum aviditate certaminis provecti extra munitiones

pugnant, haud paulo superior est Romanus miles et
virtute et scientia et genere armorum; postquam multis 3
vulneratis interfectisque recepere se regii in loca aut
munimento aut natura tuta, verterat periculum in
Romanos temere in loca iniqua nec facilis ad recep-
tum angustias progressos. neque impunita temeritate 4
inde recepissent sese, ni clamor primum ab tergo
auditus, dein pugna etiam coepta amentis repentino
terrore regios fecisset. pars in fugam effusi sunt; 5
pars, magis quia locus fugae deerat, quam quod animi
satis esset ad pugnam, cum substitissent, ab hoste
et a fronte et ab tergo urgente circumventi sunt.
deleri totus exercitus potuit, si fugientis persecuti 6
victores essent; sed equitem angustiae locorumque 7
asperitas, peditem armorum gravitas impediit. rex 8
primo effuse ac sine respectu fugit; dein quinque mi-
lium spatium progressus, cum ex iniquitate locorum,
id quod erat, suspicatus esset, sequi non posse hostem,
substitit in tumulo quodam dimisitque suos per omnia
iuga vallesque, qui palatos in unum colligerent. non 9
plus duobus milibus hominum amissis cetera omnis
multitudo, velut signum aliquod secuta, in unum cum
convenisset, frequenti agmine petunt Thessaliam. Ro- 10
mani, quoad tutum fuit, insecuti caedentes spolian-
tesque caesos, castra regia, etiam sine defensoribus
difficili aditu, diripiunt; atque ea nocte in suis castris
manserunt. XIII. postero die consul per ipsas an-
gustias, quas inter valle se flumen insinuat, hostem
sequitur.

Rex primo die ad castra Pyrrhi pervenit; locus, 1
quem ita vocant, est in Triphylia terrae Molottidis.
inde postero die — ingens iter agmini, sed metus
urgebat — in montes Lyncon perrexit. ipsi Epiri 3
sunt, interiecti Macedoniae Thessaliaeque; latus, quod
vergit in Thessaliam, oriens spectat, septentrio a Ma-

cedonia obicitur. vestiti frequentibus silvis sunt; iuga summa campos patentes aquasque perennis habent. 4 ibi stativis rex per aliquot dies habitis fluctuatus animo est, utrum protinus in regnum se reciperet, an 5 praeverti in Thessaliam posset. inclinavit sententia, ut in Thessaliam agmen demitteret, Triccamque proximis limitibus petit; inde obvias urbes raptim pera- 6 gravit. homines, qui sequi possent, sedibus excibat; oppida incendebat. rerum suarum, quas possent, ferendarum secum dominis ius fiebat, cetera militis 7 praeda erat. nec, quod ab hoste crudelius pati possent, reliqui quicquam fuit, quam quae ab sociis pa- 8 tiebantur. haec etiam facienti Philippo acerba erant, sed e terra mox futura hostium corpora saltem eripere 9 sociorum volebat. ita evastata oppida sunt Phacium, Piresiae, Euhydrium, Eretria, Palaepharsalus. Pheras cum peteret, exclusus, quia res egebat mora, si expugnare vellet, nec tempus erat, omisso incepto in Macedoniam transcendit; nam etiam Aetolos adpropin- 10 quare fama erat. qui audito proelio, quod circa amnem Aoum factum erat, proximis prius evastatis circa Sperchias et Macran quam vocant Comen, transgressi inde in Thessaliam Cymenes et Angeias primo impetu 11 potiti sunt. a Metropoli, dum vastant agros, concursu oppidanorum ad tuenda moenia facto repulsi sunt. Callithera inde adgressi similem impetum oppidanorum 12 pertinacius sustinuerunt; compulsisque intra moenia qui eruperant, contenti ea victoria, quia spes nulla admodum expugnandi erat, abscesserunt. Teuma inde 13 et Celathara vicos expugnant diripiuntque; Acharras 14 per deditionem receperunt. Xyniae simili metu a cultoribus desertae sunt. hoc sedibus suis extorre agmen in praesidium incidit, quod ad Thaumacum, quo tutior frumentatio esset, ducebatur; incondita inermisque multitudo, mixta et imbelli turba, ab ar-

matis caesa est. Xyniae desertae diripiuntur. Cyphaera inde Aetoli capiunt, opportune Dolopiae imminens castellum. haec raptim intra paucos dies ab Aetolis gesta. nec Amynander atque Athamanes post famam prosperae pugnae Romanorum quieverunt. XIV. ceterum Amynander, quia suo militi parum fidebat, petito a consule modico praesidio cum Gomphos peteret, oppidum protinus nomine Phaecam situm inter Gomphos faucesque angustas, quae ab Athamania Thessaliam dirimunt, vi cepit. inde Gomphos adortus est, et per aliquot dies summa vi tuentes urbem, cum iam scalas ad moenia erexisset, eo demum metu perpulit ad deditionem. haec traditio Gomphorum ingentem terrorem Thessalis intulit. dedidere deinceps sese qui Argenta quique Pherinium et Timarum et Ligynas et Strymonem et Lampsum habent aliaque castella iuxta ignobilia.

Dum Athamanes Aetolique submoto Macedonum metu in aliena victoria suam praedam faciunt, Thessaliaque ab tribus simul exercitibus incerta, quem hostem quemve socium crederet, vastatur, consul faucibus, quas fuga hostium aperuerat, in regionem Epiri transgressus, etsi probe scit, cui parti Charopo principe excepto Epirotae favissent, tamen quia ab satisfaciendi quoque cura imperata enixe facere videt, ex praesenti eos potius quam ex praeterito aestimat habitu et ea ipsa facilitate veniae animos eorum in posterum conciliat. missis deinde nuntiis Corcyram, ut onerariae naves in sinum venirent Ambracium, ipse progressus modicis itineribus quarto die in monte Cercetio posuit castra, eodem Amynandro cum suis auxiliis accito, non tam virium eius egens, quam ut duces in Thessaliam haberet. ab eodem consilio et plerique Epirotarum voluntarii inter auxilia accepti. XV. primam urbem Thessaliae Phaloriam est adgressus.

duo milia Macedonum in praesidio habebat, qui primo summa vi restiterunt, quantum arma, quantum moenia
2 tueri poterant. sed oppugnatio continua, non nocte non die remissa, cum consul in eo verti crederet ceterorum Thessalorum animos, si primi vim Romanam
3 non sustinuissent, vicit pertinaciam Macedonum. capta Phaloria legati a Metropoli et a Cierio dedentes urbes venerunt. venia eis quidem petentibus datur; Phaloria
4 incensa ac direpta est. inde Aeginium petit; quem locum cum vel modico praesidio tutum ac prope inexpugnabilem vidisset, paucis in stationem proximam telis coniectis ad Gomphorum regionem agmen vertit.
5 degressusque in campos Thessaliae, cum iam omnia exercitui deessent, quia Epirotarum pepercerat agris, explorato ante, utrum Leucadem an sinum Ambracium onerariae tenuissent, frumentatum Ambraciam in vicem
6 cohortes misit; et est iter a Gomphis Ambraciam
7 sicut impeditum ac difficile, ita spatio perbrevi. intra paucos itaque dies transvectis a mari commeatibus
8 repleta omni rerum copia sunt castra. inde Atracem est profectus. decem ferme milia ab Larisa abest; ex Perrhaebia oriundi sunt; sita est urbs super Pe-
9 neum amnem. nihil trepidavere Thessali ad primum adventum Romanorum; et Philippus sicut in Thessaliam ipse progredi non audebat, ita intra Tempe stativis positis, ut quisque locus ab hoste temptabatur, praesidia per occasiones summittebat.

XVI. Sub idem fere tempus, quo consul adversus Philippum primum in Epiri faucibus posuit
2 castra, et L. Quinctius frater consulis, cui classis cura maritimaeque orae imperium mandatum ab senatu erat, cum duabus quinqueremibus Corcyram travectus,
3 postquam profectam inde classem audivit, nihil morandum ratus, cum ad Samen insulam adsecutus esset,
4 dimisso Livio, cui successerat, tarde inde ad Maleum

trahendis plerumque remulco navibus, quae cum commeatu sequebantur, pervenit. a Maleo, iussis ceteris, quantum maxime possent maturare, sequi, ipse tribus quinqueremibus expeditis Piraeum praecedit accepitque naves relictas ibi ab L. Apustio legato ad praesidium Athenarum. eodem tempore duae ex Asia classes profectae, una cum Attalo rege — eae quattuor et viginti quinqueremes erant —, Rhodia altera viginti navium tectarum; Agesimbrotus praeerat. hae circa Andrum insulam classes coniunctae Euboeam inde exiguo distantem freto traiecerunt. Carystiorum primum agros vastarunt; deinde, ubi Carystus praesidio a Chalcide raptim misso firma visa est, ad Eretriam accesserunt. eodem et L. Quinctius cum iis navibus, quae Piraei fuerant, Attali regis adventu audito venit iussis, ut quaeque ex sua classe venissent naves, Euboeam petere. Eretria summa vi oppugnabatur; nam et trium iunctarum classium naves omnis generis tormenta machinasque ad urbium excidia secum portabant, et agri adfatim materiae praebebant ad nova molienda opera. oppidani primo impigre tuebantur moenia, dein fessi vulneratique aliquot, cum et muri partem eversam operibus hostium cernerent, ad deditionem inclinarunt. sed praesidium erat Macedonum, quos non minus quam Romanos metuebant, et Philocles regius praefectus a Chalcide nuntios mittebat se in tempore adfuturum, si sustinerent obsidionem. haec mixta metu spes ultra, quam vellent aut quam possent, trahere eos tempus cogebat; deinde, postquam Philoclen repulsum trepidantemque refugisse Chalciden acceperunt, oratores extemplo ad Attalum veniam fidemque eius petentis miserunt. dum in spem pacis intenti segnius munera belli obeunt et ea modo parte, qua murus dirutus erat, ceteris neglectis stationes armatas opponunt, Quinctius noctu ab ea parte,

quae minime suspecta erat, impetu facto scalis urbem
16 cepit. oppidanorum omnis multitudo cum coniugibus
ac liberis in arcem confugit, deinde in deditionem
venit. pecuniae aurique et argenti haud sane multum
17 fuit; signa et tabulae priscae artis ornamentaque eius
generis plura quam pro urbis magnitudine aut opibus
ceteris inventa. XVII. Carystus inde repetita, unde,
priusquam e navibus copiae exponerentur, omnis multi-
2 tudo urbe deserta in arcem confugit. inde ad fidem
ab Romano petendam oratores mittunt. oppidanis
extemplo vita ac libertas concessa est; Macedonibus
treceni nummi in capita statutum pretium est, et ut
3 armis traditis abirent. hac summa redempti inermes
in Boeotiam traiecti. navales copiae duabus claris
urbibus Euboeae intra dies paucos captis circumvectae
Sunium, Atticae terrae promuntorium, Cenchreas, Co-
rinthiorum emporium, petierunt.

4 Consul interim omnium spe longiorem Atracis
atrocioremque oppugnationem habuit, et ea, qua mi-
5 nimum credidisset, resistebant hostes. nam omnem
laborem in muro crediderat diruendo fore; si aditum
armatis in urbem patefecisset, fugam inde caedem-
que hostium fore, qualis captis urbibus fieri solet;
6 ceterum postquam parte muri arietibus decussa per
ipsas ruinas transcenderunt in urbem armati, illud
7 principium velut novi atque integri laboris fuit. nam
Macedones, qui in praesidio erant et multi et delecti,
gloriam etiam egregiam rati, si armis potius et vir-
8 tute quam moenibus urbem tuerentur, conferti, pluri-
bus introrsus ordinibus acie firmata, cum transcendere
ruinas sensissent Romanos, per impeditum ac difficilem
9 ad receptum locum expulerunt. id consul aegre passus
nec eam ignominiam ad unius modo oppugnandae
moram urbis sed ad summam universi belli pertinere
ratus, quod ex momentis parvarum plerumque rerum

penderet, purgato loco, qui strage semiruti muri cu- 10
mulatus erat, turrem ingentis altitudinis magnam vim
armatorum multiplici tabulato portantem promovit et 11
cohortes in vicem sub signis, quae cuneum Macedo-
num — phalangem ipsi vocant —, si possent, vi
perrumperent, emittebat. sed ad loci angustias, haud 12
late patente intervallo diruti muri, genus armorum
pugnaeque hosti aptius erat. ubi conferti hastas in- 13
gentis longitudinis prae se Macedones obiecissent,
velut in constructam densitate clipeorum testudinem
Romani pilis nequiquam emissis cum strinxissent gla-
dios, neque congredi propius neque praecidere hastas 14
poterant, et, si quam incidissent aut praefregissent,
hastile fragmento ipso acuto inter spicula integrarum
hastarum velut vallum explebat. ad hoc et muri pars 15
adhuc integra utraque tuta praestabat latera, nec ex
longo spatio aut cedendum aut impetus faciendus
erat, quae res turbare ordines solet. accessit etiam 16
fortuita res ad animos eorum firmandos; nam cum
turris per aggerem parum densati soli ageretur, rota 17
una in altiorem orbitam depressa ita turrim inclinavit,
ut speciem ruentis hostibus, trepidationem non vanam
superstantibus armatis praebuerit. XVIII. cum parum
quicquam succederet, consul minime aequo animo com-
parationem militum generisque armorum fieri patie-
batur, simul nec maturam expugnandi spem nec ra- 2
tionem procul a mari et in evastatis belli cladibus
locis hibernandi ullam cernebat. itaque relicta obsi- 3
dione, quia nullus in tota Acarnaniae atque Aetoliae
ora portus erat, qui simul et omnis onerarias, quae
commeatum exercitui portabant, caperet et tecta ad
hibernandum legionibus praeberet, Anticyra in Pho- 4
cide, in Corinthium versa sinum, ad id opportunissime
sita visa, quia nec procul Thessalia hostiumque locis 5
aberat et ex adverso Peloponnesum exiguo maris

spatio divisam, ab tergo Aetoliam Acarnaniamque, ab
6 lateribus Locridem ac Boeotiam habebat. Phocidis
primo impetu Phanoteam sine certamine cepit. Anti-
cyra haud multum oppugnando morae praebuit. Am-
7 brysus inde Hyampolisque receptae. Daulis, quia in
tumulo excelso sita est, nec scalis nec operibus capi
8 poterat. lacessendo missilibus eos, qui in praesidio
erant, cum ad excursiones elicuissent, refugiendo in
vicem sequendoque et levibus sine effectu certaminibus
eo neglegentiae et contemptus adduxerunt, ut cum
refugientibus in portam permixti impetum Romani
9 facerent. et alia ignobilia castella Phocidis terrore
magis quam armis in potestatem venerunt. Elatia
clausit portas, nec, nisi vi cogerentur, recepturi moe-
nibus videbantur aut ducem aut exercitum Romanum.

XIX. Elatiam obsidenti consuli rei maioris spes
adfulsit, Achaeorum gentem ab societate regia in Ro-
2 manam amicitiam avertendi. Cycliadan, principem
factionis ad Philippum trahentium res, expulerant;
Aristaenus, qui Romanis gentem iungi volebat, praetor
3 erat. classis Romana cum Attalo et Rhodiis Cenchreis
stabat, parabantque communi omnes consilio Corin-
4 thum oppugnare. optimum igitur ratus est, priusquam
eam rem adgrederentur, legatos ad gentem Achaeorum
mitti pollicentis, si ab rege ad Romanos defecissent,
Corinthum contributuros in antiquum gentis concilium.
5 auctore consule legati a fratre eius L. Quinctio et
Attalo et Rhodiis et Atheniensibus ad Achaeos missi.
6 Sicyone datum est iis concilium. erat autem non
admodum simplex habitus inter Achaeos animorum:
terrebat Nabis Lacedaemonius, gravis et adsiduus
7 hostis; horrebant Romana arma; Macedonum beneficiis
et veteribus et recentibus obligati erant; regem ipsum
suspectum habebant pro eius crudelitate perfidiaque,
8 neque ex iis, quae tum ad tempus faceret, aestimantes

graviorem post bellum dominum futurum cernebant.
neque solum, quid in senatu quisque civitatis suae 9
aut in communibus conciliis gentis pro sententia di-
cerent, ignorabant, sed ne ipsis quidem secum cogi- 10
tantibus, quid vellent aut quid optarent, satis con-
stabat. ad homines ita incertos introductis legatis
potestas dicendi facta est. Romanus primum legatus 11
L. Calpurnius, deinde Attali regis legati, post eos
Rhodii disseruerunt; Philippi deinde legatis potestas 12
dicendi facta est; postremi Athenienses, ut refellerent
Macedonum dicta, auditi sunt. ii fere atrocissime in
regem, quia nulli nec plura nec tam acerba passi
erant, invecti sunt. et illa quidem contio sub occa- 13
sum solis tot legatorum perpetuis orationibus die
absumpto dimissa est. XX. postero die advocatur
concilium; ubi cum per praeconem, sicut Graecis mos
est, suadendi, si quis vellet, potestas a magistratibus
facta esset, nec quisquam prodiret, diu silentium alio-
rum alios intuentium fuit. neque mirum, si, quibus 2
sua sponte volutantibus res inter se repugnantes ob-
torpuerant quodam modo animi, eos orationes quoque
insuper turbaverant utrimque, quae difficilia essent,
promendo admonendoque per totum diem habitae.
tandem Aristaenus, praetor Achaeorum, ne tacitum 3
concilium dimitteret, 'ubi' inquit 'illa certamina ani-
morum, Achaei, sunt, quibus in conviviis et circulis,
cum de Philippo et Romanis mentio incidit, vix mani-
bus temperatis? nunc in concilio ad eam rem unam 4
indicto, cum legatorum utrimque verba audieritis, cum
referant magistratus, cum praeco ad suadendum vocet,
obmutuistis! si non cura salutis communis, ne studia 5
quidem, quae in hanc aut in illam partem animos
vestros inclinarunt, vocem cuiquam possunt exprimere?
cum praesertim nemo tam hebes sit, qui ignorare 6
possit dicendi ac suadendi, quod quisque aut velit

aut optimum putet, nunc occasionem esse, priusquam quicquam decernamus; ubi semel decretum erit, omnibus id, etiam quibus ante displicuerit, pro bono
7 atque utili fore defendendum.' haec adhortatio praetoris non modo quemquam unum elicuit ad suadendum, sed ne fremitum quidem aut murmur contionis tantae ex tot populis congregatae movit. XXI. tum Aristaenus praetor rursus: 'non magis consilium vobis, principes Achaeorum, deest quam lingua; sed suo quisque periculo in commune consultum non vult. forsitan ego quoque tacerem, si privatus essem; nunc praetori video aut non dandum concilium legatis fuisse,
2 aut non sine responso eos dimittendos esse; respondere autem nisi ex vestro decreto qui possum? et quoniam nemo vestrum, qui in hoc concilium advocati estis, pro sententia quicquam dicere vult aut audet, orationes legatorum hesterno die ut pro sententiis
3 dictas percenseamus, perinde ac non postulaverint, quae e re sua essent, sed suaserint, quae nobis cen-
4 serent utilia esse. Romani Rhodiique et Attalus societatem amicitiamque nostram petunt et in bello, quod adversus Philippum gerunt, se a nobis adiuvari
5 aequum censent. Philippus societatis secum admonet et iuris iurandi et modo postulat, ut secum stemus, modo, ne intersimus armis, contentum ait se esse.
6 nulline venit in mentem, cur, qui nondum socii sunt, plus petant quam socius? non fit hoc neque modestia
7 Philippi neque impudentia Romanorum, Achaei: fortuna et dat fiduciam postulantibus et demit. Philippi praeter legatum videmus nihil; Romana classis ad Cenchreas stat urbium Euboeae spolia prae se ferens, consulem legionesque eius, exiguo maris spatio diiunctas, Phocidem ac Locridem pervagantis videmus:
8 miramini, cur diffidenter Cleomedon, legatus Philippi, ut pro rege arma caperemus adversus Romanos, modo

egerit? qui, si ex eodem foedere ac iure iurando, 9
cuius nobis religionem iniciebat, rogemus eum, ut nos
Philippus et ab Nabide ac Lacedaemoniis et ab Ro-
manis defendat, non modo praesidium, quo tueatur
nos, sed ne quid respondeat quidem nobis sit inven-
turus, non hercule magis quam ipse Philippus priore 10
anno, qui pollicendo se adversus Nabidem bellum ge-
sturum cum temptasset nostram iuventutem hinc in
Euboeam extrahere, postquam nos neque decernere 11
id sibi praesidium neque velle illigari Romano bello
vidit, oblitus societatis eius, quam nunc iactat, vas-
tandos populandosque Nabidi ac Lacedaemoniis reli-
quit. ac mihi quidem minime conveniens inter se 12
oratio Cleomedontis visa est. elevabat Romanum bel-
lum eventumque eius eundem fore, qui prioris belli,
quod cum Philippo gesserint, dicebat. cur igitur no- 13
strum ille auxilium absens petit potius quam praesens
nos, socios veteres, simul ab Nabide ac Romanis tuea-
tur? nos dico? quid ita passus est Eretriam Cary-
stumque capi? quid ita tot Thessaliae urbes? quid ita
Locridem Phocidemque? quid ita nunc Elatiam oppu- 14
gnari patitur? cur excessit faucibus Epiri claustrisque
illis inexpugnabilibus super Aoum amnem relictoque,
quem insidebat, saltu penitus in regnum abiit? aut
vi aut metu aut voluntate. si sua voluntate tot socios 15
reliquit hostibus diripiendos, qui recusare potest, quin
et socii sibi consulant? si metu, nobis quoque ignoscat
timentibus; si victus armis cessit, Achaei Romana
arma sustinebimus, Cleomedon, quae vos Macedones
non sustinuistis? an tibi credamus Romanos non 16
maioribus copiis nec viribus nunc bellum gerere, quam
antea gesserint, potius quam res ipsas intueamur?
Aetolos tum classe adiuverunt; nec duce consulari nec 17
exercitu bellum gesserunt; sociorum Philippi maritimae
tum urbes in terrore ac tumultu erant; mediterranea

adeo tuta ab armis Romanis fuerunt, ut Philippus Aetolos nequiquam opem Romanorum implorantis de-
18 popularetur; nunc autem defuncti bello Punico Romani, quod per sedecim annos velut intra viscera Italiae toleraverunt, non praesidium Aetolis bellantibus miserunt, sed ipsi duces belli arma terra marique si-
19 mul Macedoniae intulerunt. tertius iam consul summa vi gerit bellum. Sulpicius in ipsa Macedonia congressus fudit fugavitque regem, partem opulentissi-
20 mam regni eius depopulatus; nunc Quinctius tenentem claustra Epiri natura loci, munimentis, exercitu fretum castris exuit, fugientem in Thessaliam persecutus praesidia regia sociasque urbes eius prope in conspectu regis ipsius expugnavit.

21 Ne sint vera, quae Atheniensis modo legatus de crudelitate, avaritia, libidine regis disseruit; nihil ad nos pertineant, quae in terra Attica scelera in superos
22 inferosque deos sunt admissa, multo minus, quae Ciani Abydenique, qui procul ab nobis absunt, passi sunt;
23 nostrorum ipsi vulnerum, si vultis, obliviscamur, caedes direptionesque bonorum Messenae in media Peloponneso factas, et hospitem Cyparissiae Charitelen contra ius omne ac fas inter epulas prope ipsas occisum, et Aratum patrem filiumque Sicyonios, cum senem infelicem parentem etiam appellare solitus esset, inter-
24 fectos, filii etiam uxorem libidinis causa in Macedoniam asportatam, cetera stupra virginum matrona-
25 rumque oblivioni dentur; ne sit cum Philippo res, cuius crudelitatis metu obmutuistis omnes — nam quae alia tacendi advocatis in concilium causa est? —; cum Antigono, mitissimo ac iustissimo rege et de nobis omnibus optime merito, existimemus disceptationem esse: num is postularet facere nos, quod
26 fieri non posset? paene insula est Peloponnesus, angustis Isthmi faucibus continenti adhaerens, nulli

apertior neque opportunior quam navali bello. si 27
centum tectae naves et quinquaginta leviores apertae
et triginta Issaei lembi maritimam oram vastare et
expositas prope in ipsis litoribus urbes coeperint op-
pugnare, in mediterraneas scilicet nos urbes recipie-
mus, tamquam non intestino et haerente in ipsis
visceribus uramur bello! cum terra Nabis et Lacedae- 28
monii, mari classis Romana urgebunt, deinde regiam
societatem et Macedonum praesidia imploremus? an
ipsi nostris armis ab hoste Romano tutabimur urbes,
quae oppugnabuntur? egregie enim Dymas priore
bello sumus tutati! satis exemplorum nobis clades 29
alienae praebent; ne quaeramus, quem ad modum ce-
teris exemplo simus.

Nolite, quia ultro Romani petunt amicitiam, id 30
quod optandum vobis ac summopere petendum erat,
fastidire. metu enim videlicet compulsi et deprensi 31
in aliena terra, quia sub umbra vestri auxilii latere
volunt, in societatem vestram confugiunt, ut portibus
vestris recipiantur, ut commeatibus utantur! mare in 32
potestate habent; terras, quascunque adeunt, extemplo
dicionis suae faciunt. quod rogant, cogere possunt;
quia pepercisse vobis volunt, committere vos, cur pe-
reatis, non patiuntur. nam quod Cleomedon modo 33
tamquam mediam et tutissimam vobis viam consilii,
ut quiesceretis abstineretisque armis, ostendebat, ea
non media, sed nulla via est. etenim praeterquam 34
quod aut accipienda aut spernenda vobis Romana
societas est, quid aliud quam nusquam gratia stabili,
velut qui eventum expectaverimus, ut fortunae appli-
caremus nostra consilia, praeda victoris erimus? no- 35
lite, si, quod omnibus votis petendum erat, ultro offer-
tur, fastidire. non, quem ad modum hodie utrumque
vobis licet, sic semper liciturum est; nec saepe nec
diu eadem occasio erit. liberare vos a Philippo iam 36

diu magis vultis quam audetis. sine vestro labore et periculo qui vos in libertatem vindicarent, cum magnis
37 classibus exercitibusque mare traiecerunt. hos si socios aspernamini, vix mentis sanae estis; sed aut socios aut hostes habeatis oportet.'

XXII. Secundum orationem praetoris murmur ortum aliorum cum adsensu, aliorum inclementer ad-
2 sentientes increpantium; et iam non singuli tantum sed populi universi inter se altercabantur. tum inter magistratus gentis — damiurgos vocant; decem numero creantur — certamen nihilo segnius quam inter
3 multitudinem esse. quinque relaturos de societate Romana se aiebant suffragiumque daturos; quinque lege cautum testabantur, ne quid, quod adversus Philippi societatem esset, aut referre magistratibus aut decernere concilio ius esset. is quoque dies iurgiis est consumptus.

4 Supererat unus iusti concilii dies; tertio enim lex iubebat decretum fieri; in quem adeo exarsere
5 studia, ut vix parentes ab liberis temperaverint. Pisias Pellenensis erat; filium damiurgum nomine Memnonem habebat, partis eius, quae decretum recitari perro-
6 garique sententias prohibebat. is diu obtestatus filium, ut consulere Achaeos communi saluti pateretur neu
7 pertinacia sua gentem universam perditum iret, postquam parum proficiebant preces, iuratus se eum sua manu interempturum nec pro filio sed pro hoste ha-
8 biturum minis pervicit, ut postero die coniungeret iis se, qui referebant. qui cum plures facti referrent, omnibus fere populis haud dubie approbantibus relationem ac prae se ferentibus, quid decreturi essent,
9 Dymaei ac Megalopolitani et quidam Argivorum, priusquam decretum fieret, consurrexerunt ac reliquerunt
10 concilium neque mirante ullo nec improbante. nam Megalopolitanos avorum memoria pulsos ab Lacedae-

moniis restituerat in patriam Antigonus, et Dymaeis, captis nuper direptisque ab exercitu Romano, cum redimi eos, ubicumque servirent, Philippus iussisset, non libertatem modo sed etiam patriam reddiderat; iam Argivi, praeterquam quod Macedonum reges ab 11
se oriundos credunt, privatis etiam hospitiis familiarique amicitia plerique illigati Philippo erant. ob 12
haec concilio, quod inclinaverat ad Romanam societatem iubendam, excesserunt, veniaque iis huius secessionis fuit et magnis et recentibus obligatis beneficiis. XXIII. ceteri populi Achaeorum, cum sententias perrogarentur, societatem cum Attalo ac Rhodiis praesenti decreto confirmarunt; cum Romanis, quia 2
iniussu populi non poterat rata esse, in id tempus, quo Romam mitti legati possent, dilata est; in prae- 3
sentia tris legatos ad L. Quinctium mitti placuit et exercitum omnem Achaeorum ad Corinthum admoveri captis Cenchreis iam urbem ipsam Quinctio oppugnante.

Et hi quidem e regione portae, quae fert Sicyo- 4
nem, posuerunt castra; Romani in Cenchreas versam partem urbis, Attalus traducto per Isthmum exercitu ab Lechaeo, alterius maris portu, oppugnabant, primo segnius, sperantes seditionem intus fore inter oppidanos ac regium praesidium. postquam uno animo 5
omnes, et Macedones tamquam communem patriam tuebantur, et Corinthii ducem praesidii Androsthenen haud secus quam civem et suffragio creatum suo imperio in se uti patiebantur, omnis inde spes oppugnantibus in vi et armis et operibus erat. undique 6
aggeres haud facili aditu ad moenia admovebantur. aries ex ea parte, quam Romani oppugnabant, ali- 7
quantum muri diruerat; in quem locum, quia nudatus munimento erat, protegendum armis cum Macedones concurrerent, atrox proelium inter eos ac Romanos

8 ortum est. ac primo multitudine facile expellebantur Romani; adsumptis deinde Achaeorum Attalique auxiliis aequabant certamen, nec dubium erat, quin Ma-
9 cedonas Graecosque facile loco pulsuri fuerint. transfugarum Italicorum magna multitudo erat, pars ex Hannibalis exercitu metu poenae a Romanis Philippum secuta, pars navales socii relictis nuper classibus ad spem honoratioris militiae transgressi; hos desperata salus, si Romani vicissent, ad rabiem magis quam
10 audaciam accendebat. promuntorium est adversus Sicyonem Iunonis, quam vocant Acraeam, in altum excurrens; traiectus inde Corinthum septem fere mi-
11 lium passuum. eo Philocles, regius et ipse praefectus, mille et quingentos milites per Boeotiam duxit. praesto fuere ab Corintho lembi, qui praesidium id acceptum
12 Lechaeum traicerent. auctor erat Attalus incensis operibus omittendae extemplo oppugnationis; pertinacius Romanus in incepto perstabat. is quoque, ut pro omnibus portis disposita videt praesidia regia nec facile erumpentium impetus sustineri posse, in Attali
13 sententiam concessit. ita inrito incepto dismissis Achaeis reditum ad naves est. Attalus Piraeum, Romani Corcyram petierunt.

XXIV. Dum haec ab navali exercitu geruntur, consul in Phocide ad Elatiam castris positis primo colloquiis rem per principes Elatensium temptavit;
2 postquam nihil esse in manu sua et plures validioresque esse regios quam oppidanos respondebatur, tum simul ab omni parte operibus armisque urbem est
3 adgressus. ariete admoto cum quantum inter duas turres muri erat prorutum cum ingenti fragore ac strepitu nudasset urbem, simul et cohors Romana per
4 apertum recenti strage iter invasit, et ex omnibus oppidi partibus relictis suis quisque stationibus in eum, qui premebatur impetu hostium, locum concur-

rerunt. eodem tempore Romani et ruinas muri super- 5
vadebant et scalas ad stantia moenia inferebant. et
dum in unam partem oculos animosque hostium cer-
tamen averterat, pluribus locis scalis capitur murus,
armatique in urbem transcenderunt. quo tumultu 6
audito territi hostes relicto, quem conferti tuebantur,
loco in arcem omnes, inermi quoque sequente turba,
confugerunt. ita urbe potitur consul. qua direpta 7
missis in arcem, qui vitam regiis, si inermes abire
vellent, libertatem Elatensibus pollicerentur, fideque
in haec data post dies paucos arcem recipit.

XXV. Ceterum adventu in Achaiam Philoclis,
regii praefecti, non Corinthus tantum liberata obsi-
dione, sed Argivorum quoque civitas per quosdam
principes Philocli prodita est temptatis prius animis
plebis. mos erat comitiorum die primo velut ominis 2
causa praetores pronuntiare Iovem Apollinemque et
Herculem; additum lege erat, ut his Philippus rex
adiceretur. cuius nomen post pactam cum Romanis 3
societatem quia praeco non adiecit, fremitus primo
multitudinis ortus, deinde clamor subicientium Phi- 4
lippi nomen iubentiumque legitimum honorem usur-
pare, donec cum ingenti adsensu nomen recitatum est.
huius fiducia favoris Philocles arcessitus nocte occupat 5
collem imminentem urbi — Larisam eam arcem vo-
cant — positoque ibi praesidio cum lucis principio
signis infestis ad subiectum arci forum vaderet, in-
structa acies ex adverso occurrit. praesidium erat 6
Achaeorum, nuper impositum, quingenti fere iuvenes
delecti omnium civitatum; Aenesidemus Dymaeus
praeerat. ad hos orator a praefecto regio missus, 7
qui excedere urbe iuberet: neque enim pares eos op-
pidanis solis, qui idem quod Macedones sentirent, ne-
dum adiunctis Macedonibus esse, quos ne Romani
quidem ad Corinthum sustinuissent, primo nihil nec

8 ducem nec ipsos movit; post paulo, ut Argivos quoque armatos ex parte altera venientis magno agmine viderunt, certam perniciem cernentes, omnem tamen casum, si pertinacior dux fuisset, videbantur subituri. 9 Aenesidemus, ne flos Achaeorum iuventutis simul cum urbe amitteretur, pactus a Philocle, ut abire illis liceret, ipse quo loco steterat armatus cum paucis clien- 10 tibus non excessit. missus a Philocle, qui quaereret, quid sibi vellet. nihil statu motus, cum proiecto prae se clipeo staret, in praesidio creditae urbis moriturum se armatum respondit. tum iussu praefecti 11 a Thraecibus coniecta tela interfectique omnes. et post pactam inter Achaeos ac Romanos societatem duae nobilissimae urbes, Argi et Corinthus, in pote- 12 state regis erant. haec ea aestate ab Romanis in Graecia terra marique gesta.

XXVI. In Gallia nihil sane memorabile ab Sex. 2 Aelio consule gestum. cum duos exercitus in provincia habuisset, unum retentum, quem dimitti oportebat, cui L. Cornelius proconsul praefuerat — ipse ei C. Helvium praetorem praefecit —, alterum, quem 3 in provinciam adduxit, totum prope annum Cremonensibus Placentinisque cogendis redire in colonias, unde belli casibus dissipati erant, consumpsit.

4 Quem ad modum Gallia praeter spem quieta eo anno fuit, ita circa urbem servilis prope tumultus est 5 excitatus. obsides Carthaginiensium Setiae custodiebantur. cum iis, ut principum liberis, magna vis ser- 6 vorum erat. augebant eorum numerum, ut ab recenti Africo bello, et ab ipsis Setinis captiva aliquot na- 7 tionis eius empta ex praeda mancipia. ea cum coniurationem fecissent, missis ex eo numero, primum qui in Setino agro, deinde circa Norbam et Cerceios servitia sollicitarent, satis iam omnibus praeparatis, ludis, qui Setiae prope diem futuri erant, spectaculo inten-

tum populum adgredi statuerant; Setia per caedem et repentinum tumultum capta Norbam et Cerceios occupare non potuere servitia. huius rei tam foedae indicium Romam ad L. Cornelium Merulam praetorem urbanum delatum est. servi duo ante lucem ad eum venerunt atque ordine omnia, quae facta futuraque erant, exposuerunt. quibus domi custodiri iussis, praetor senatu vocato edoctoque, quae indices adferrent, proficisci ad eam coniurationem quaerendam atque opprimendam iussus, cum quinque legatis profectus obvios in agris sacramento rogatos arma capere et sequi cogebat. hoc tumultuario dilectu duobus milibus ferme hominum armatis Setiam omnibus, quo pergeret, ignaris venit. ibi raptim principibus coniurationis comprehensis fuga servorum ex oppido facta est. dimissis deinde per agros, qui vestigarent profugos, domum revertit Cornelius. egregia duorum opera servorum indicum et unius liberi fuit. ei centum milia gravis aeris dari patres iusserunt, servis vicena quina milia aeris et libertatem; pretium eorum ex aerario solutum est dominis. haud ita multo post ex eiusdem coniurationis reliquiis nuntiatum est servitia Praeneste occupatura. eo L. Cornelius praetor profectus de quingentis fere hominibus, qui in ea noxa erant, supplicium sumpsit. in timore civitas fuit obsides captivosque Poenorum ea moliri. itaque et Romae vigiliae per vicos servatae iussique circumire eas minores magistratus, et triumviri carceris lautumiarum intentiorem custodiam habere iussi, et circa nomen Latinum a praetore litterae missae, ut et obsides in privato servarentur neque in publicum prodeundi facultas daretur, et captivi ne minus decem pondo compedibus vincti in nulla alia quam in carceris publici custodia essent.

XXVII. Eodem anno legati ab rege Attalo co-

ronam auream ducentum quadraginta sex pondo in Capitolio posuerunt gratiasque senatui egere, quod Antiochus legatorum Romanorum auctoritate motus finibus Attali exercitum deduxisset.

2 Eadem aestate equites ducenti et elephanti decem et tritici modium ducenta milia ab rege Masinissa ad exercitum, qui in Graecia erat, pervenerunt. item ex Sicilia Sardiniaque magni commeatus et vestimenta 3 exercitui missa. Siciliam M. Marcellus, Sardiniam M. Porcius Cato obtinebat, sanctus et innocens, aspe- 4 rior tamen in faenore coercendo habitus; fugatique ex insula faeneratores et sumptus, quos in cultum praetorum socii facere soliti erant, circumcisi aut sublati.

5 Sex. Aelius consul, ex Gallia comitiorum causa Romam cum redisset, creavit consules C. Cornelium 6 Cethegum et Q. Minucium Rufum. biduo post praetorum comitia habita. sex praetores illo anno primum creati crescentibus iam provinciis et latius patescente 7 imperio; creati autem hi: L. Manlius Volso, C. Sempronius Tuditanus, M. Sergius Silus, M. Helvius, M. Minucius Rufus, L. Atilius — Sempronius et Helvius 8 ex iis aediles plebis erant —; curules aediles Q. Minucius Thermus et Ti. Sempronius Longus. ludi Romani eo anno quater instaurati.

XXVIII. C. Cornelio et Q. Minucio consulibus omnium primum de provinciis consulum praetorumque 2 actum. prius de praetoribus transacta res, quae transigi sorte poterat. urbana Sergio, peregrina iurisdictio Minucio obtigit; Sardiniam Atilius, Siciliam Manlius, Hispanias Sempronius citeriorem, Helvius 3 ulteriorem est sortitus. consulibus Italiam Macedoniamque sortiri parantibus L. Oppius et Q. Fulvius tribuni plebis impedimento erant, quod longinqua pro- 4 vincia Macedonia esset, neque ulla alia res maius bello impedimentum ad eam diem fuisset. quam quod vix-

dum inchoatis rebus in ipso conatu gerendi belli prior consul revocaretur. quartum iam annum esse ab de- 5
creto Macedonico bello. quaerendo regem et exercitum eius Sulpicium maiorem partem anni absumpsisse. Villium congredientem cum hoste infecta re revocatum. Quinctium rebus divinis Romae maiorem 6
partem anni retentum ita gessisse tamen res, ut, si aut maturius in provinciam venisset, aut hiems magis sera fuisset, potuerit debellare; nunc prope in hiberna 7
profectum ita comparare dici bellum, ut, nisi successor impediat, perfecturus aestate proxima videatur. his 8
orationibus pervicerunt, ut consules in senatus auctoritate fore dicerent se, si idem tribuni plebis facerent. permittentibus utrisque liberam consultationem patres consulibus ambobus Italiam provinciam decreverunt, T. Quinctio prorogarunt imperium, donec suc- 9
cessor ex senatus consulto venisset. consulibus binae legiones decretae et ut bellum cum Gallis Cisalpinis, qui defecissent a populo Romano, gererent. Quinctio 10
in Macedoniam supplementum decretum, sex milia peditum, trecenti equites, sociorum navalium milia tria. praeesse eidem, cui praeerat, classi L. Quinctius 11
Flamininus iussus. praetoribus in Hispanias octona milia peditum socium ac nominis Latini data et quadringeni equites, ut dimitterent veterem ex Hispaniis militem; et terminare iussi, qua ulterior citeriorve provincia servaretur. Macedoniae legatos P. Sulpi- 12
cium et P. Villium, qui consules in ea provincia fuerant, adiecerunt.

XXIX. Priusquam consules praetoresque in provincias proficiscerentur, prodigia procurari placuit, quod aedes Vulcani Summanique Romae, et quod Fregenis murus et porta de caelo tacta erant, et Fru- 2
sinone inter noctem lux orta, et Aefulae agnus biceps cum quinque pedibus natus, et Formiis duo lupi op-

pidum ingressi obvios aliquot laniaverant, Romae non in urbem solum sed in Capitolium penetraverat lupus.

3 C. Atinius tribunus plebis tulit, ut quinque colonia in oram maritimam deducerentur, duae ad ostia fluminum Vulturni Liternique, una Puteolos, una ad
4 Castrum Salerni: his Buxentum adiectum, trecenae familiae in singulas colonias iubebantur mitti. triumviri deducendis iis, qui per triennium magistratum haberent, creati M. Servilius Geminus, Q. Minucius Thermus, Ti. Sempronius Longus.

5 Dilectu rebusque aliis divinis humanisque, quae per ipsos agenda erant, perfectis consules ambo in
6 Galliam profecti, Cornelius recta ad Insubres via, qui tum in armis erant Cenomanis adsumptis; Q. Minucius in laeva Italiae ad inferum mare flexit iter Genuamque exercitu ducto ab Liguribus orsus bellum est.
7 oppida Clastidium et Litubium, utraque Ligurum, et duae gentis eiusdem civitates, Celeiates Cerdiciatesque, sese dediderunt. et iam omnia cis Padum praeter Gallorum Boios, Ilvates Ligurum sub dicione erant;
8 quindecim oppida, hominum viginti milia esse dicebantur, quae se dediderant. inde in agrum Boiorum legiones duxit. XXX. Boiorum exercitus haud ita multo ante traiecerat Padum iunxeratque se Insu-
2 bribus et Cenomanis, quod ita acceperant, coniunctis legionibus consules rem gesturos, ut et ipsi collatas
3 in unum viris firmarent. postquam fama accidit alterum consulem Boiorum urere agros, seditio extemplo orta est; postulare Boi, ut laborantibus opem universi
4 ferrent; Insubres negare se sua deserturos. ita divisae copiae, Boisque in agrum suum tutandum profectis Insubres cum Cenomanis super amnis Mincii
5 ripam consederunt. infra eum locum duo milia et
6 consul Cornelius eidem flumini castra applicuit. inde mittendo in vicos Cenomanorum Brixiamque, quod

caput gentis erat, ut satis comperit non ex auctoritate seniorum iuventutem in armis esse nec publico consilio Insubrum defectioni Cenomanos sese adiunxisse, excitis ad se principibus id agere ac moliri coepit, ut 7
desciscerent ab Insubribus Cenomani et sublatis signis aut domos redirent aut ad Romanos transirent. et 8
id quidem impetrari nequiit; in id fides data consuli est, ut in acie aut quiescerent aut, si qua etiam occasio fuisset, adiuvarent Romanos. haec ita convenisse 9
Insubres ignorabant; suberat tamen quaedam suspicio animis labare fidem sociorum. itaque cum in aciem eduxissent, neutrum iis cornu committere ausi, ne, si dolo cessissent, rem totam inclinarent, post signa in subsidiis eos locaverunt. consul principio pugnae vovit 10
aedem Sospitae Iunoni, si eo die hostes fusi fugatique fuissent: a militibus clamor sublatus compotem voti consulem se facturos, et impetus in hostis est factus. non tulerunt Insubres primum concursum. quidam 11
et a Cenomanis, terga repente in ipso certamine adgressis, tumultum ancipitem iniectum auctores sunt, caesaque in medio quinque et triginta milia hostium, quinque milia et ducentos vivos captos, in iis Hamil- 12
carem, Poenorum imperatorem, qui belli causa fuisset; signa militaria centum triginta et carpenta supra ducenta. multa oppida Gallorum, quae Insubrum de- 13
fectionem secuta erant, dediderunt se Romanis.

XXXI. Minucius consul primo effusis populationibus peragraverat finis Boiorum, deinde, ut relictis Insubribus ad sua tuenda receperant sese, castris se tenuit acie dimicandum cum hoste ratus. nec Boi 2
detrectassent pugnam, ni fama Insubres victos adlata animos fregisset. itaque relicto duce castrisque dissipati per vicos, sua quisque ut defenderent, rationem gerendi belli hosti mutarunt. omissa enim spe per 3
unam dimicationem rei decernendae rursus populari

agros et urere tecta vicosque expugnare coepit. per eosdem dies Clastidium incensum. inde in Ligustinos Ilvates, qui soli non parebant, legiones ductae. ea quoque gens, ut Insubres acie victos, Boios ita, ut temptare spem certaminis non auderent, territos audivit, in dicionem venit. litterae consulum amborum de rebus in Gallia prospere gestis sub idem tempus Romam adlatae. M. Sergius praetor urbanus in senatu eas, deinde ex auctoritate patrum ad populum recitavit. supplicatio in quadriduum decreta.

XXXII. Hiems iam eo tempore erat, et, cum T. Quinctius capta Elatia in Phocide ac Locride hiberna disposita haberet, Opunte seditio orta est. factio una Aetolos, qui propiores erant, altera Romanos accersebat. Aetoli priores venerunt; sed opulentior factio exclusis Aetolis missoque ad imperatorem Romanum nuntio usque in adventum eius tenuit urbem. arcem regium tenebat praesidium, neque, ut decederent inde, aut Opuntiorum minis aut auctoritate imperatoris Romani perpelli potuerunt. mora, cur non extemplo oppugnarentur, ea fuit, quod caduceator ab rege venerat locum ac tempus petens colloquio. id gravate regi concessum est, non quin cuperet Quinctius per se partim armis, partim condicionibus confectum videri bellum; necdum enim sciebat, utrum successor sibi alter ex novis consulibus mitteretur, an, quod summa vi ut tenderent amicis et propinquis mandaverat, imperium prorogaretur; aptum autem fore colloquium credebat, ut sibi liberum esset vel ad bellum manenti vel ad pacem decedenti rem inclinare. in sinu Maliaco prope Nicaeam litus elegere. eo rex ab Demetriade cum quinque lembis et una nave rostrata venit. erant cum eo principes Macedonum et Achaeorum exul, vir insignis, Cycliadas. cum imperatore Romano rex Amynander erat et Dionysodorus, Attali

legatus, et Agesimbrotus, praefectus Rhodiae classis, et Phaeneas, princeps Aetolorum, et Achaei duo, Aristaenus et Xenophon. inter hos Romanus ad ex- 12
tremum litus progressus, cum rex in proram navis in ancoris stantis processisset, 'commodius' inquit, 'si in 13
terram egrediaris, ex propinquo dicamus in vicem audiamusque'. cum rex facturum se id negaret, 'quem tandem' inquit Quinctius 'times?' ad hoc ille superbo et regio animo: 'neminem equidem timeo praeter deos 14
immortalis; non omnium autem credo fidei, quos circa te video, atque omnium minime Aetolis'. 'istuc qui- 15
dem' ait Romanus 'par omnibus periculum est, qui cum hoste ad colloquium congrediuntur, si nulla fides sit.' 'non tamen' inquit, 'T. Quincti, par perfidiae 16
praemium est, si fraude agatur, Philippus et Phaeneas; neque enim aeque difficulter Aetoli praetorem alium ac Macedones regem in meum locum substituant.' XXXIII. secundum haec silentium fuit, cum Romanus eum aequum censeret priorem dicere, qui petisset colloquium, rex eius esse priorem orationem, qui daret pacis leges, non qui acciperet; tum Romanus: simplicem suam orationem esse; ea enim se 2
dicturum, quae ni fiant, nulla sit pacis condicio. de- 3
ducenda ex omnibus Graeciae civitatibus regi praesidia esse, captivos et transfugas sociis populi Romani reddendos, restituenda Romanis ea Illyrici loca, quae post pacem in Epiro factam occupasset, Ptolomaeo 4
Aegypti regi reddendas urbes, quas post Philopatoris Ptolomaei mortem occupavisset. suas populique Romani condiciones has esse; ceterum et socium audiri postulata verum esse. Attali regis legatus naves 5
captivosque, quae ad Chium navali proelio capta essent, et Nicephorium Venerisque templum, quae spoliasset evastassetque, pro incorruptis restitui; Rhodii 6
Peraeam — regio est continentis adversus insulam,

vetustae eorum dicionis — repetebant postulabantque praesidia deduci ab Iaso et a Bargyliis et Euromen-
7 sium urbe et in Hellesponto Sesto atque Abydo, et Perinthum Byzantiis in antiqui formulam iuris restitui,
8 et liberari omnia Asiae emporia portusque. Achaei Corinthum et Argos repetebant. praetor Aetolorum Phaeneas cum eadem fere, quae Romani, ut Graecia decederetur, postulasset, redderenturque Aetolis urbes,
9 quae quondam iuris ac dicionis eorum fuissent, excepit orationem eius princeps Aetolorum Alexander, vir ut
10 inter Aetolos facundus. iam dudum se reticere ait, non quo quicquam agi putet eo colloquio, sed ne quem sociorum dicentem interpellet. nec de pace cum fide Philippum agere nec bella vera virtute um-
11 quam gessisse. in colloquiis insidiari et captare; in bello non congredi aequo campo neque signis collatis dimicare, sed refugientem incendere ac diripere urbes
12 et vincentium praemia victum corrumpere. at non antiquos Macedonum reges rem ita gessisse, sed acie bellare solitos, urbibus parcere, quantum possent, quo
13 opulentius haberent imperium. nam de quorum possessione dimicetur tollentem nihil sibi praeter bellum
14 relinquere, quod consilium esse? pluris priore anno sociorum urbes in Thessalia evastasse Philippum quam
15 omnes, qui umquam hostes Thessaliae fuerint. ipsis quoque Aetolis eum plura socium quam hostem ademisse: Lysimachiam pulso praetore et praesidio Aeto-
16 lorum occupasse eum; Cium, item suae dicionis urbem, funditus evertisse ac delesse; eadem fraude habere eum Thebas Phthias, Echinum, Larisam, Pharsalum.
XXXIV. motus oratione Alexandri Philippus navem,
2 ut exaudiretur, propius terram applicuit. orsum eum dicere, in Aetolos maxime, violenter Phaeneas interfatus non in verbis rem verti ait: aut bello vincen-
3 dum aut melioribus parendum esse. 'apparet id quidem'

inquit Philippus 'etiam caeco', iocatus in valetudinem oculorum Phaeneae; et erat dicacior natura, quam regem decet, et ne inter seria quidem risu satis temperans. indignari inde coepit, Aetolos tamquam Romanos decedi Graecia iubere, qui, quibus finibus Graecia sit, dicere non possent; ipsius enim Aetoliae Agraeos Apodotosque et Amphilochos, quae permagna eorum pars sit, Graeciam non esse. 'an, quod a sociis eorum non abstinuerim, iustam querellam habent, cum ipsi pro lege hunc antiquitus morem servent, ut adversus socios ipsi suos publica tantum auctoritate dempta iuventutem suam militare sinant, et contrariae persaepe acies in utraque parte Aetolica auxilia habeant? neque ego Cium expugnavi, sed Prusiam socium et amicum oppugnantem adiuvi; et Lysimachiam ab Thracibus vindicavi, sed, quia me necessitas ad hoc bellum a custodia eius avertit, Thraces habent. et Aetolis haec; Attalo autem Rhodiisque nihil iure debeo; non enim a me, sed ab illis principium belli ortum est; Romanorum autem honoris causa Peraeam Rhodiis et naves Attalo cum captivis, qui comparebunt, restituam. nam quod ad Nicephorium Venerisque templi restitutionem attinet, quid restitui ea postulantibus respondeam, nisi, quo uno modo silvae lucique caesi restitui possunt, curam impensamque sationis me praestaturum, — quoniam haec inter se reges postulare et respondere placet.' extrema eius oratio adversus Achaeos fuit, in qua orsus ab Antigoni primum, suis deinde erga gentem eam meritis, recitari decreta eorum iussit omnis divinos humanosque honores complexa atque eis obiecit recens decretum, quo ab se descivissent; invectusque graviter in perfidiam eorum, Argos tamen se iis redditurum dixit; de Corintho cum imperatore Romano deliberaturum esse quaesiturumque ab eo simul, utrum iisne urbibus

decedere se aequum censeat, quas ab se ipso captas iure belli habeat, an iis etiam, quas a maioribus suis accepisset. XXXV. parantibus Achaeis Aetolisque ad ea respondere, cum prope occasum sol esset, dilato in posterum diem colloquio Philippus in stationem, ex qua profectus erat, Romani sociique in castra re-
2 dierunt. Quinctius postero die ad Nicaeam — is enim locus placuerat — ad constitutum tempus venit; Philippus nullus usquam, nec nuntius ab eo per aliquot horas veniebat, et iam desperantibus venturum re-
3 pente apparuerunt naves. atque ipse quidem, cum tam gravia et indigna imperarentur, inopem consilii
4 diem consumpsisse deliberando aiebat; vulgo credebant de industria rem in serum tractam, ne tempus dari
5 posset Achaeis Aetolisque ad respondendum, et eam opinionem ipse adfirmavit petendo, ut summotis aliis, ne tempus altercando tereretur et aliqui finis rei imponi posset, cum ipso imperatore Romano liceret sibi
6 colloqui. id primo non acceptum, ne excludi colloquio
7 viderentur socii, dein, cum haud absisteret petere, ex omnium consilio Romanus imperator cum Ap. Claudio tribuno militum ceteris summotis ad extremum litus
8 processit; rex cum duobus, quos pridie adhibuerat, in terram est egressus. ibi cum aliquamdiu secreto locuti essent, quae acta Philippus ad suos rettulerit,
9 minus compertum est; Quinctius haec rettulit ad socios: Romanis eum cedere tota Illyrici ora, perfugas
10 remittere ac si qui sint captivi; Attalo naves et cum iis captos navalis socios, Rhodiis regionem, quam Peraeam vocant, reddere, Iaso et Bargyliis non ces-
11 surum; Aetolis Pharsalum Larisamque reddere, Thebas non reddere; Achaeis non Argis modo sed etiam Co-
12 rintho cessurum. nulli omnium placere partium, quibus cessurus aut non cessurus esset, destinatio: plus enim amitti in iis quam acquiri, nec umquam, nisi

tota deduxisset ex Graecia praesidia, causas certaminum defore. XXXVI. cum haec toto ex concilio certatim omnes vociferarentur, ad Philippum quoque procul stantem vox est perlata. itaque a Quinctio petit, ut 2
rem totam in posterum diem differret: profecto aut persuasurum se aut persuaderi sibi passurum. litus 3
ad Thronium colloquio destinatur. eo mature conventum est. ibi Philippus primum et Quinctium et omnis qui aderant rogare, ne spem pacis turbare vellent, postremo petere tempus, quo legatos mittere 4
Romam ad senatum posset: aut iis condicionibus se pacem impetraturum aut quascumque senatus dedisset leges pacis accepturum. id ceteris haudquaquam 5
placebat: nec enim aliud quam moram et dilationem ad colligendas vires quaeri; Quinctius verum id futu- 6
rum fuisse dicere, si aestas et tempus rerum gerendarum esset; nunc hieme instante nihil amitti dato spatio ad legatos mittendos; nam neque sine auctori- 7
tate senatus ratum quicquam eorum fore, quae cum rege ipsi pepigissent, et explorari, dum bello necessariam quietem ipsa hiems daret, senatus auctoritatem posse. in hanc sententiam et ceteri sociorum prin- 8
cipes concesserunt; indutiisque datis in duos menses, et ipsos mittere singulos legatos ad senatum edocendum, ne fraude regis caperetur, placuit. additum 9
indutiarum pacto, ut regia praesidia Phocide ac Locride extemplo deducerentur. et ipse Quinctius cum 10
sociorum legatis Amynandrum, Athamanum regem, ut speciem legationi adiceret, et Q. Fabium — uxoris Quincti sororis filius erat — et Q. Fulvium et Ap. Claudium misit. XXXVII. ut ventum Romam est, prius sociorum legati quam regis auditi sunt. cetera eorum oratio conviciis regis consumpta est; moverunt 2
maxime senatum demonstrando maris terrarumque regionis eius situm, ut omnibus appareret, si Deme- 3

triadem in Thessalia, Chalcidem in Euboea, Corinthum in Achaia rex teneret, non posse liberam Graeciam
4 esse, et ipsum Philippum non contumeliosius quam
5 verius compedes eas Graeciae appellare. legati deinde regis intromissi; quibus longiorem exorsis orationem brevis interrogatio, cessurusne iis tribus urbibus esset, sermonem incidit, cum mandati sibi de iis nominatim negarent quicquam. sic infecta pace regii dimissi; Quinctio liberum arbitrium pacis ac belli permissum.
6 cui ut satis apparuit non taedere belli senatum, et ipse victoriae quam pacis avidior neque colloquium postea Philippo dedit neque legationem aliam, quam quae omni Graecia decedi nuntiaret, admissurum dixit.

XXXVIII. Philippus, cum acie decernendum videret et undique ad se contrahendas vires, maxime
2 de Achaiae urbibus, regionis ab se diversae, et magis tamen de Argis quam de Corintho sollicitus, optimum ratus Nabidi eam Lacedaemoniorum tyranno velut fiduciariam dare, ut victori sibi restitueret, si quid adversi accidisset, ipse haberet, Philocli, qui Corintho Argisque praeerat, scribit, ut tyrannum ipse conve-
3 niret. Philocles, praeterquam quod iam veniebat cum munere, adicit, ad pignus futurae regi cum tyranno amicitiae, filias suas regem Nabidis filiis matrimonio
4 coniungere velle. tyrannus primo negare aliter urbem eam se accepturum, nisi Argivorum ipsorum decreto
5 accersitus ad auxilium urbis esset, deinde, ut frequenti contione non aspernatos modo sed abominatos etiam nomen tyranni audivit, causam se spoliandi eos nactum ratus tradere, ubi vellet, urbem Philoclen iussit.
6 nocte ignaris omnibus acceptus in urbem est tyrannus; prima luce occupata omnia superiora loca portaeque
7 clausae. paucis principum inter primum tumultum elapsis, eorum absentium direptae fortunae; praesentibus aurum atque argentum ablatum, pecuniae im-

peratae ingentes. qui non cunctanter contulere, sine 8
contumelia et laceratione corporum dimissi; quos occulere aut retrahere aliquid suspicio fuit, in servilem modum lacerati atque extorti. contione inde advocata 9
rogationes promulgavit, unam de tabulis novis, alteram de agro viritim dividendo, duas faces novantibus res ad plebem in optimates accendendam. XXXIX. postquam in potestate Argivorum civitas erat, nihil eius memor tyrannus, a quo eam civitatem et in quam condicionem accepisset, legatos Elatiam ad Quinctium 2
et ad Attalum Aeginae hibernantem mittit, qui nuntiarent Argos in potestate sua esse: eo si veniret Quinctius ad colloquium, non diffidere sibi omnia cum eo conventura. Quinctius, ut eo quoque praesidio 3
Philippum nudaret, cum adnuisset se venturum, mittit ad Attalum, ut ab Aegina Sicyonem sibi occurreret, ipse ab Anticyra decem quinqueremibus, quas iis forte 4
ipsis diebus L. Quinctius frater eius adduxerat ex hibernis Corcyrae, Sicyonem tramisit. iam ibi Attalus 5
erat; qui cum tyranno ad Romanum imperatorem, non Romano ad tyrannum eundum diceret, in sententiam suam Quinctium traduxit, ne in urbem ipsam Argos iret. haud procul urbe Mycenica vocatur; in 6
eo loco ut congrederentur convenit. Quinctius cum 7
fratre et tribunis militum paucis, Attalus cum regio comitatu, Nicostratus, Achaeorum praetor, cum auxiliaribus paucis venit. tyrannum ibi cum omnibus 8
copiis opperientem invenerunt. progressus armatus cum satellitibus armatis est in medium fere interiacentis campi; inermis Quinctius cum fratre et duobus tribunis militum, inermi item regi praetor Achaeorum et unus ex purpuratis latus cingebant. initium ser- 9
monis ab excusatione tyranni ortum, quod armatus ipse armatisque saeptus, cum inermes Romanum imperatorem regemque cerneret, in colloquium venisset:

neque enim se illos timere dixit, sed exules Argi-
10 vorum. inde ubi de condicionibus amicitiae coeptum
agi est, Romanus duas postulare res, unam, ut bellum
cum Achaeis finiret, alteram, ut adversus Philippum
mitteret secum auxilia. ea se missurum dixit; pro
pace cum Achaeis indutiae impetratae, donec bellum
cum Philippo finiretur. XL. de Argis quoque dis-
ceptatio ab Attalo rege est mota, cum fraude Philoclis
proditam urbem vi ab eo teneri argueret, ille ab ipsis
2 Argivis se defenderet accitum. contionem rex Argi-
vorum postulabat, ut id sciri posset; nec tyrannus
abnuere; sed deductis ex urbe praesidiis liberam con-
tionem non immixtis Lacedaemoniis declaraturam, quid
Argivi vellent, praeberi debere dicebat rex; tyrannus
3 negavit deducturum. haec disceptatio sine exitu fuit.
4 de colloquio discessum sescentis Cretensibus ab ty-
ranno datis Romano indutiisque inter Nicostratum,
praetorem Achaeorum, et Lacedaemoniorum tyrannum
in quattuor menses factis.

5 Inde Quinctius Corinthum est profectus et ad
portam cum Cretensium cohorte accessit, ut Philocli
praefecto urbis appareret tyrannum a Philippo de-
6 scisse. Philocles et ipse ad imperatorem Romanum in
colloquium venit hortantique, ut extemplo transiret
urbemque traderet, ita respondit, ut distulisse rem
7 magis quam negasse videretur. a Corintho Quinctius
Anticyram traiecit; inde fratrem ad temptandam Acar-
nanum gentem misit.

8 Attalus ab Argis Sicyonem est profectus. ibi et
civitas novis honoribus veteres regis honores auxit,
et rex ad id, quod sacrum Apollinis agrum grandi
9 quondam pecunia redemerat iis, tum quoque, ne sine
aliqua munificentia praeteriret civitatem sociam atque
amicam, decem talenta argenti dono dedit et decem

milia medimnum frumenti; atque ita Cenchreas ad naves redit.

Et Nabis firmato praesidio Argis Lacedaemonem 10
regressus, cum ipse viros spoliasset, ad feminas spo-
liandas uxorem Argos remisit. ea nunc singulas illu- 11
stres, nunc simul plures genere inter se iunctas ac-
cersendo blandiendoque ac minando non aurum modo
iis, sed postremo vestem quoque mundumque omnem
muliebrem ademit.

LIBER XXXIII

I. Haec per hiemem gesta; initio autem veris Quinctius Attalo Elatiam excito Boeotorum gentem incertis ad eam diem animis fluctuantem dicionis suae facere cupiens, profectus per Phocidem quinque milia ab Thebis, quod caput est Boeotiae, posuit castra. 2 inde postero die cum unius signi militibus et Attalo legationibusque, quae frequentes undique convenerant, pergit ire ad urbem, iussis legionis hastatis — ea duo milia militum erant — sequi se mille passuum 3 intervallo distantibus. ad medium ferme viae Boeotorum praetor Antiphilus obvius fuit; cetera multitudo e muris adventum imperatoris Romani regisque pro- 4 speculabatur. rara arma paucique milites circa eos apparebant; hastatos sequentes procul anfractus viarum 5 vallesque interiectae occulebant. cum iam adpropinquaret urbi, velut obviam egredientem turbam salutaret, tardius incedebat; causa erat morae, ut hastati 6 consequerentur. oppidani, ante lictorem turba acta, insecutum confestim agmen armatorum non ante, quam 7 ad hospitium imperatoris ventum est, conspexere. tum velut prodita dolo Antiphili praetoris urbe captaque obstipuerunt omnes; et apparebat nihil liberae consultationis concilio, quod in diem posterum indictum 8 erat Boeotis, relictum esse. texerunt dolorem, quem et nequiquam et non sine periculo ostendissent.

II. In concilio Attalus primus verba fecit. orsus a maiorum suorum suisque et communibus in omnem Graeciam et propriis in Boeotorum gentem meritis, 2 senior iam et infirmior, quam ut contentionem dicendi

sustineret, obmutuit et concidit; et dum regem au- 3
ferunt referuntque parte membrorum captum, paulis-
per contio intermissa est. Aristaenus inde, Achaeorum 4
praetor, eo cum maiore auctoritate auditus, quod non
alia, quam quae Achaeis suaserat, Boeotis suadebat.
pauca ab ipso Quinctio adiecta, fidem magis Roma- 5
nam quam arma aut opes extollente verbis. rogatio 6
inde a Plataeensi Dicaearcho lata recitataque de so-
cietate cum Romanis iungenda nullo contra dicere
audente omnium Boeotiae civitatum suffragiis accipitur
iubeturque. concilio dimisso Quinctius, tantum Thebis 7
moratus, quantum Attali repens casus coegit, post- 8
quam non vitae praesens periculum vis morbi attulisse
sed membrorum debilitatem visa est, relicto eo ad cura-
tionem necessariam corporis, Elatiam, unde profectus 9
erat, redit Boeotis quoque, sicut prius Achaeis, ad
societatem adscitis et, quoniam tuta ea pacataque ab
tergo relinquebantur, omnibus iam cogitationibus in
Philippum et quod reliquum belli erat conversis.

III. Philippus quoque primo vere, postquam legati
ab Roma nihil pacati rettulerant, dilectum per omnia 2
oppida regni habere instituit in magna inopia iuniorum.
absumpserant enim per multas iam aetates continua
bella Macedonas; ipso quoque regnante et navalibus 3
bellis adversus Rhodios Attalumque et terrestribus
adversus Romanos ceciderat magnus numerus. ita et 4
tirones ab sedecim annis milites scribebat, et emeritis
quidam stipendiis, quibus modo quicquam reliqui ro-
boris erat, ad signa revocabantur. ita suppleto exer- 5
citu secundum vernum aequinoctium omnis copias
Dium contraxit ibique stativis positis exercendo cotidie
milite hostem opperiebatur. et Quinctius per eosdem 6
ferme dies ab Elatia profectus praeter Thronium et
Scarpheam ad Thermopylas pervenit. ibi concilium 7
Aetolorum Heracleam indictum tenuit consultantium,

quantis auxiliis Romanum ad bellum sequerentur. cognitis sociorum decretis tertio die ab Heraclea Xynias praegressus in confinio Aenianum Thessalorumque positis castris Aetolica auxilia opperiebatur. nihil morati Aetoli sunt; Phaenea duce sescenti pedites cum equitibus quadringentis venerunt. ne dubium esset, quid expectasset, confestim Quinctius movit castra. transgresso in Phthioticum agrum quingenti Gortynii Cretensium duce Cydante et trecenti Apolloniatae haud dispari armatu se coniunxere nec ita multo post Amynander cum Athamanum peditum ducentis et mille.

Philippus cognita profectione ab Elatia Romanorum, ut cui de summa rerum adesset certamen, adhortandos milites ratus, multa iam saepe memorata de maiorum virtutibus simul de militari laude Macedonum cum disseruisset, ad ea, quae tum maxime animos terrebant quibusque erigi ad aliquam spem poterant, venit. IV. acceptae ad Aoum flumen in angustiis cladi ter a Macedonum phalange ad Atracem vi pulsos Romanos opponebat. et illic tamen, ubi insessas fauces Epiri non tenuissent, primam culpam fuisse eorum, qui neglegenter custodias servassent, secundam in ipso certamine levis armaturae mercenariorumque militum; Macedonum vero phalangem et tunc stetisse et loco aequo iustaque pugna semper mansuram invictam. decem et sex milia militum haec fuere, robur omne virium eius regni. ad hoc duo milia caetratorum, quos peltastas appellant, Thracumque et Illyriorum — Trallis est nomen genti — par numerus, bina milia erant, et mixti ex pluribus gentibus mercede conducti auxiliares mille ferme et quingenti et duo milia equitum. cum iis copiis rex hostem opperiebatur. Romanis ferme par numerus erat; equi-

tum copiis tantum, quod Aetoli accesserant, superabant.

V. Quinctius ad Thebas Phthioticas castra cum movisset, spem nactus per Timonem, principem civitatis, prodi urbem cum paucis equitum levisque armaturae ad muros successit. ibi adeo frustrata spes 2
est, ut non certamen modo cum erumpentibus, sed periculum quoque atrox subiret, ni castris exciti repente pedites equitesque in tempore subvenissent. et 3
postquam nihil conceptae temere spei succedebat, urbis quidem amplius temptandae in praesentia conatu abstitit; ceterum satis gnarus iam in Thessalia regem 4
esse, nondum comperto, quam in regionem venisset, milites per agros dimissos vallum caedere et parare iubet. vallo et Macedones et Graeci usi sunt, sed 5
usum nec ad commoditatem ferendi nec ad ipsius munitionis firmamentum aptaverunt; nam et maiores 6
et magis ramosas arbores caedebant, quam quas ferre cum armis miles posset, et cum castra his ante obiectis saepsissent, facilis molitio eorum valli erat. nam et 7
quia rari stipites magnarum arborum eminebant multique et validi rami praebebant, quod recte manu caperetur, duo aut summum tres iuvenes conixi arborem unam evellebant, qua evulsa portae instar extemplo 8
patebat, nec in promptu erat, quod obmolirentur. Romanus leves et bifurcos plerosque et trium aut 9
cum plurimum quattuor ramorum vallos caedit, ut et suspensis ab tergo armis ferat pluris simul apte miles; et ita densos offigunt implicantque ramos, ut neque 10
quis cuiusque palmae stipes, neque quae cuiusque stipitis palma sit, pervideri possit; et adeo acuti aliusque per 11
alium inmissi rami locum ad inserendam manum non relinquunt, ut neque prehendi, quod trahatur, neque 12
trahi, cum inter se innexi rami vinculum in vicem

praebeant, possit; et, si evulsus forte est unus, nec loci multum aperit, et alium reponere perfacile est.

VI. Quinctius postero die vallum secum ferente milite, ut paratus omni loco castris ponendis esset, 2 progressus modicum iter sex ferme milia a Pheris cum consedisset, speculatum, in qua parte Thessaliae 3 hostis esset quidve pararet, misit. circa Larisam erat rex. certior iam factus Romanum ab Thebis Pheras movisse, defungi quam primum et ipse certamine cupiens ducere ad hostem pergit et quattuor milia fere 4 a Pheris posuit castra. inde postero die cum expediti utrimque ad occupandos super urbem tumulos processissent, pari ferme intervallo ab iugo, quod capiendum 5 erat, cum inter se conspecti essent, constiterunt, nuntios in castra remissos, qui, quid sibi, quoniam praeter spem hostis occurrisset, faciendum esset, consulerent, 6 quieti opperientes. et illo quidem die nullo inito certamine in castra revocati sunt; postero die circa eosdem tumulos equestre proelium fuit, in quo non minimum Aetolorum opera regii fugati atque in castra 7 compulsi sunt. magnum utrisque impedimentum ad rem gerendam fuit ager consitus crebris arboribus hortique, ut in suburbanis locis, et coartata itinera maceriis et 8 quibusdam locis interclusa. itaque pariter ducibus consilium fuit excedendi ea regione, et velut ex praedicto ambo Scotusam petierunt, Philippus spe frumentandi inde, Romanus, ut praegressus corrumperet hosti 9 frumenta. per diem totum, quia colles perpetuo iugo intererant, nullo conspecta inter se loco agmina ierunt. 10 Romani ad Eretriam Phthiotici agri, Philippus super 11 amnem Onchestum posuit castra. ne postero quidem die, cum Philippus ad Melambium quod vocant Scotusaei agri, Quinctius circa Thetideum Pharsaliae terrae posuisset castra, aut hi aut illi, ubi hostis esset, satis 12 compertum habuerunt. tertio die primo nimbus effu-

sus, dein caligo nocti simillima Romanos metu insidiarum tenuit. VII. Philippus maturandi itineris causa, post imbrem nubibus in terram demissis nihil 2
deterritus, signa ferri iussit; sed tam densa caligo occaecaverat diem, ut neque signiferi viam nec signa milites cernerent, agmen ad incertos clamores vagum velut errore nocturno turbaretur. supergressi tumulos, 3
qui Cynoscephalae vocantur, relicta ibi statione firma peditum equitumque posuerunt castra. Romanus eis- 4
dem ad Thetideum castris cum se tenuisset, exploratum tamen, ubi hostis esset, decem turmas equitum et mille pedites misit monitos, ut ab insidiis, quas dies obscurus apertis quoque locis tecturus esset, praecaverent. ubi ventum ad insessos tumulos est, 5
pavore mutuo iniecto velut torpentes quieverunt; dein nuntiis retro in castra ad duces missis, ubi primus terror ab necopinato visu consedit, non diutius certamine abstinuere. principio a paucis procurrentibus 6
lacessita pugna est, deinde subsidiis tuentium pulsos aucta. in qua cum haudquaquam pares Romani alios super alios nuntios ad ducem mitterent premi sese, quingenti equites et duo milia peditum, maxime Aeto- 7
lorum, cum duobus tribunis militum propere missa rem inclinatam restituerunt, versaque fortuna Mace- 8
dones laborantes opem regis per nuntios implorabant. rex, ut qui nihil minus illo die propter effusam caliginem quam proelium expectasset, magna parte hominum omnis generis pabulatum missa aliquamdiu inops consilii trepidavit; deinde, postquam nuntii in- 9
stabant, et iam iuga montium detexerat nebula, et in conspectu erant Macedones in tumulum maxime editum inter alios compulsi loco se magis quam armis tutantes, committendam rerum summam in discrimen 10
utcumque ratus, ne partis indefensae iactura fieret, Athenagoram, ducem mercede militantium, cum om- 11

nibus praeter Thracas auxiliis et equitatu Macedonum
12 ac Thessalorum mittit. eorum adventu depulsi ab
iugo Romani non ante restiterunt, quam in planiorem
13 vallem perventum est. ne effusa detruderentur fuga,
plurimum in Aetolis equitibus praesidii fuit. is longe
tum optimus eques in Graecia erat; pedite inter fini-
timos vincebantur.

VIII. Laetior res quam pro successu pugnae
nuntiata, cum alii super alios recurrentes ex proelio
2 clamarent fugere pavidos Romanos, invitum et cuncta-
bundum et dicentem temere fieri, non locum sibi pla-
cere, non tempus, perpulit, ut educeret omnes copias
3 in aciem. idem et Romanus, magis necessitate quam
occasione pugnae inductus, fecit. dextrum cornu ele-
phantis ante signa instructis in subsidiis reliquit; laevo
4 cum omni levi armatura in hostem vadit, simul ad-
monens cum iisdem Macedonibus pugnaturos, quos ad
Epiri fauces, montibus fluminibusque saeptos, victa
naturali difficultate locorum expulissent acieque ex-
5 pugnassent, cum iis, quos P. Sulpicii prius ductu ob-
sidentes in Eordaeam aditum vicissent; fama stetisse,
non viribus Macedoniae regnum; eam quoque famam
6 tandem evanuisse. iam perventum ad suos in ima
valle stantes erat, qui adventu exercitus imperatorisque
pugnam renovant impetuque facto rursus avertunt
7 hostem. Philippus cum caetratis et cornu dextro pe-
ditum, robore Macedonici exercitus, quam phalangem
8 vocabant, prope cursu ad hostem vadit; Nicanori, ex
purpuratis uni, ut cum reliquis copiis confestim se-
9 quatur, imperat. primo, ut in iugum evasit, et iacen-
tibus ibi paucis armis corporibusque hostium proe-
lium eo loco fuisse pulsosque inde Romanos et pugnari
prope castra hostium vidit, ingenti gaudio est elatus;
10 mox refugientibus suis et terrore verso paulisper in-
11 certus, an in castra reciperet copias, trepidavit; deinde

ut adpropinquabat hostis, et praeterquam quod caedebantur aversi nec, nisi defenderentur, servari poterant, ne ipsi quidem in tuto iam receptus erat, coactus 12
nondum adsecuta parte suorum periculum summae rerum facere, equites levemque armaturam, qui in proelio fuerant, dextero in cornu locat, caetratos et 13
Macedonum phalangem hastis positis, quarum longitudo impedimento erat, gladiis rem gerere iubet. simul 14
ne facile perrumperetur acies, dimidium de fronte demptum introrsus porrectis ordinibus duplicat, ut longa potius quam lata acies esset; simul et densari ordines iussit, ut vir viro, arma armis iungerentur.

IX. Quinctius iis, qui in proelio fuerant, inter signa et ordines acceptis tuba dat signum. raro alias 2
tantus clamor dicitur in principio pugnae exortus; nam forte utraque acies simul conclamavere nec solum qui pugnabant sed subsidia etiam quique tum maxime in proelium veniebant. dextero cornu rex loci plurimum auxilio, ex iugis altioribus pugnans, vincebat; 3
sinistro tum cum maxime adpropinquante phalangis parte, quae novissimi agminis fuerat, sine ullo ordine trepidabatur; media acies, quae propior dextrum cornu 4
erat, stabat spectaculo velut nihil ad se pertinentis pugnae intenta. phalanx, quae venerat agmen magis 5
quam acies aptiorque itineri quam pugnae, vixdum in iugum evaserat. in hos incompositos Quinctius, quam- 6
quam pedem referentes in dextro cornu suos cernebat, elephantis prius in hostem actis impetum facit, ratus partem profligatam cetera tracturam. non dubia res 7
fuit; extemplo terga vertere Macedones, terrore primo bestiarum aversi. et ceteri quidem hos pulsos sequebantur; 8
unus e tribunis militum ex tempore capto consilio, cum viginti signorum militibus, relicta ea parte suorum, quae haud dubie vincebat, brevi circuitu dextrum cornu hostium aversum invadit. nullam aciem 9

ab tergo adortus non turbasset; ceterum ad communem
10 omnium in tali re trepidationem accesit, quod phalanx
Macedonum gravis atque immobilis nec circumagere se
poterat, nec hoc qui a fronte paulo ante pedem re-
11 ferentes tunc ultro territis instabant patiebantur. ad
hoc loco etiam premebantur, quia iugum, ex quo pu-
gnaverant, dum per proclive pulsos insequuntur, tradi-
derant hosti ad terga sua circumducto. paulisper in me-
dio caesi, deinde omissis plerique armis capessunt fugam.

X. Philippus cum paucis peditum equitumque
primo tumulum altiorem inter ceteros cepit, ut specu-
laretur, quae in laeva parte suorum fortuna esset;
2 deinde, postquam fugam effusam animadvertit et omnia
circa iuga signis atque armis fulgere, tum et ipse
3 acie excessit. Quinctius cum institisset cedentibus,
repente quia erigentes hastas Macedonas conspexerat,
quidnam pararent incertus, paulisper novitate rei con-
4 stituit signa; deinde, ut accepit hunc morem esse
Macedonum tradentium sese, parcere victis in animo
5 habebat. ceterum ab ignaris militibus, omissam ab
hoste pugnam et quid imperator vellet, impetus in
eos est factus, et primis caesis ceteri in fugam dis-
6 sipati sunt. rex effuso cursu Tempe petit. ibi ad
Gonnos diem unum substitit ad excipiendos, si qui
proelio superessent. Romani victores in castra hostium
spe praedae irrumpunt; ea magna iam ex parte direpta
7 ab Aetolis inveniunt. caesa eo die octo milia hostium,
quinque capta. ex victoribus septingenti ferme ceci-
8 derunt. si Valerio qui credat omnium rerum inmo-
dice numerum augenti, quadraginta milia hostium eo
die sunt caesa; capta — ibi modestius mendacium
9 est — quinque milia septingenti, signa militaria du-
centa undequinquaginta. Claudius quoque duo et tri-
ginta milia hostium caesa scribit, capta quattuor milia
10 et trecentos. nos non minimo potissimum numero

credidimus, sed Polybium secuti sumus, non incertum auctorem cum omnium Romanarum rerum tum praecipue in Graecia gestarum.

XI. Philippus collectis ex fuga, qui variis casibus pugnae dissipati vestigia eius secuti fuerant, missisque Larisam ad commentarios regios comburendos, ne in hostium venirent potestatem, in Macedoniam concessit. Quinctius captivis praedaque partim venumdatis, partim militi concessis Larisam est profectus, hauddum satis gnarus, quam regionem petisset rex quidve pararet. caduceator eo regius venit, specie ut indutiae essent, donec tollerentur ad sepulturam, qui in acie cecidissent, re vera ad petendam veniam legatis mittendis. utrumque ab Romano impetratum. adiecta etiam illa vox, bono animo esse regem ut iuberet, quae maxime Aetolos offendit iam tumentis querentisque mutatum victoria imperatorem: ante pugnam omnia magna parvaque communicare cum sociis solitum; nunc omnium expertes consiliorum esse, suo ipsum arbitrio cuncta agere, cum Philippo iam gratiae privatae locum quaerere, ut dura atque aspera belli Aetoli exhauserint, pacis gratiam et fructum Romanus in se vertat. et haud dubie decesserat iis aliquantum honoris; sed cur neglegerentur, ignorabant. donis regis imminere credebant invicti ab ea cupiditate animi virum; sed et suscensebat non inmerito Aetolis ob insatiabilem aviditatem praedae et arrogantiam eorum, victoriae gloriam in se rapientium, quae vanitate sua omnium aures offendebat, et Philippo sublato, fractis opibus Macedonici regni Aetolos habendos Graeciae dominos cernebat. ob eas causas multa sedulo, ut viliores levioresque apud omnis essent et viderentur, faciebat.

XII. Indutiae quindecim dierum datae hosti erant et cum ipso rege constitutum conloquium; cuius priusquam tempus veniret, in consilium advocavit socios;

2 rettulit, quas leges pacis placeret dici. Amynander,
Athamanum rex, paucis sententiam absolvit: ita com-
ponendam pacem esse, ut Graecia etiam absentibus
Romanis satis potens tuendae simul pacis libertatisque
3 esset. Aetolorum asperior oratio fuit, qui pauca prae-
fati recte atque ordine imperatorem Romanum facere,
quod, quos belli socios habuisset, cum iis communi-
4 caret pacis consilia; falli autem eum tota re, si aut
Romanis pacem aut Graeciae libertatem satis firmam
se credat relicturum nisi Philippo aut occiso aut regno
pulso; quae utraque proclivia esse, si fortuna uti
5 vellet. ad· haec Quinctius negare Aetolos aut moris
Romanorum memorem aut sibi ipsis convenientem
6 sententiam dixisse. et illos prioribus omnibus con-
ciliis conloquiisque de condicionibus pacis semper,
7 non ut ad internecionem bellaretur, disseruisse, et Ro-
manos praeter vetustissimum morem victis parcendi
praecipuum clementiae documentum dedisse pace Han-
8 nibali et Carthaginiensibus data. omittere se Cartha-
ginienses; cum Philippo ipso quotiens ventum in con-
loquium? nec umquam, ut cederet regno, actum esse.
an, quia victus proelio foret, inexpiabile bellum fac-
9 tum? cum armato hoste infestis animis concurri de-
bere; adversus victos mitissimum quemque animum
10 maximum habere. libertati Graeciae videri graves
Macedonum reges; si regnum gensque tollatur, Thra-
cas, Illyrios, Gallos deinde, gentes feras et indomitas,
11 in Macedoniam se et in Graeciam effusuras. ne proxima
quaeque amoliendo maioribus gravioribusque aditum
12 ad se facerent. interfanti deinde Phaeneae, praetori
Aetolorum, testificantique, si elapsus eo tempore Phi-
lippus foret, mox gravius eum rebellaturum, 'desistite
13 tumultuari' inquit, 'ubi consultandum est. non iis
condicionibus inligabitur rex, ut movere bellum possit.'
XIII. hoc dimisso concilio postero die rex ad fauces,

quae ferunt in Tempe — is datus erat locus conloquio —, venit; tertio die datur ei Romanorum ac sociorum frequens concilium. ibi Philippus perquam prudenter iis, sine quibus pax impetrari non poterat, sua potius voluntate omissis quam altercando extorquerentur, quae priore conloquio aut imperata a Romanis aut postulata ab sociis essent, omnia se concedere, de ceteris senatui permissurum dixit. quamquam vel inimicissimis omnibus praeclusisse vocem videbatur, Phaeneas tamen Aetolus cunctis tacentibus 'quid? nobis' inquit, 'Philippe, reddisne tandem Pharsalum et Larisam Cremasten et Echinum et Thebas Phthias?' cum Philippus nihil morari diceret, quo minus reciperent, disceptatio inter imperatorem Romanum et Aetolos orta est de Thebis; nam eas populi Romani iure belli factas esse Quinctius dicebat, quod integris rebus, exercitu ab se admoto, vocati in amicitiam, cum potestas libera desciscendi ab rege esset, regiam societatem Romanae praeposuissent; Phaeneas et pro societate belli, quae ante bellum habuissent, restitui Aetolis aequum censebat et ita in foedere primo cautum esse, ut belli praeda rerum, quae ferri agique possent, Romanos, ager urbesque captae Aetolos sequerentur. 'vos' inquit 'ipsi' Quinctius 'societatis istius leges rupistis, quo tempore relictis nobis cum Philippo pacem fecistis. quae si maneret, captarum tamen urbium illa lex foret; Thessaliae civitates sua voluntate in dicionem nostram venerunt.' haec cum omnium sociorum adsensu dicta Aetolis non in praesentia modo gravia auditu, sed mox etiam belli causa magnarumque ex eo cladium iis fuerunt. cum Philippo ita convenit, ut Demetrium filium et quosdam ex amicorum numero obsides et ducenta talenta daret, de ceteris Romam mitteret legatos; ad eam rem quattuor mensium indutiae essent. si pax non impetrata ab senatu foret,

obsides pecuniamque reddi Philippo receptum est. causa Romano imperatori non alia maior fuisse dicitur maturandae pacis, quam quod Antiochum bellum transitumque in Europam moliri constabat.

XIV. Eodem tempore atque, ut quidam tradidere, eodem die ad Corinthum Achaei ducem regium Androsthenem iusto proelio fuderunt. eam urbem pro arce habiturus Philippus adversus Graeciae civitates et principes inde evocatos per speciem conloquendi, quantum equitum dare Corinthii ad bellum possent, retinuerat pro obsidibus, et praeter quingentos Macedonas mixtosque ex omni genere auxiliorum octingentos, quot iam ante ibi fuerant, mille Macedonum eo miserat et mille ac ducentos Illyrios Thracasque et Cretenses, qui in utraque parte militabant, octingentos. his additi Boeoti Thessalique et Acarnanes mille, scutati omnes, et septingenti ex ipsorum Corinthiorum iuventute, impleta ut essent sex milia armatorum, fiduciam Androstheni fecerunt acie decernendi. Nicostratus, praetor Achaeorum, Sicyone erat cum duobus milibus peditum, centum equitibus, sed imparem se et numero et genere militum cernens moenibus non excedebat. regiae copiae peditum equitumque vagae Pellenensem et Phliasium et Cleonaeum agrum depopulabantur; postremo exprobrantes metum hosti in finis Sicyoniorum transcendebant; navibus etiam circumvecti omnem oram Achaiae vastabant. cum id effusius hostes et, ut fit ab nimia fiducia, neglegentius etiam facerent, Nicostratus spem nactus necopinantes eos adgrediendi circa finitimas civitates nuntium occultum mittit, quo die et quot ex quaque civitate armati ad Apelaurum — Stymphaliae terrae is locus est — convenirent. omnibus ad diem edictam paratis profectus inde extemplo per Phliasiorum fines nocte Cleonas insciis omnibus, quid pararet, pervenit.

erant autem cum eo quinque milia peditum, ex quibus armaturae levis mille, et trecenti equites. cum iis copiis, dismissis qui specularentur, quam in partem hostes effunderent sese, opperiebatur. XV. Androsthenes omnium ignarus Corintho profectus ad Nemeam — amnis est Corinthium et Sicyonium interfluens agrum — castra locat. ibi partem dimidiam exercitus, divisam trifariam, et omnes equites discurrere ad depopulandos simul Pellenensem Sicyoniumque agros et Phliasium iubet. haec tria diversa agmina discessere. quod ubi Cleonas ad Nicostratum perlatum est, extemplo validam mercennariorum manum praemissam ad occupandum saltum, per quem transitus in Corinthium est agrum, ante signa equitibus, ut praegrederentur, locatis ipse confestim agmine duplici sequitur. parte una mercennarii milites ibant cum levi armatura, altera clipeati; id in illarum gentium exercitibus robur erat. iam haud procul castris aberant pedites equitesque, et Thracum quidam in vagos palatosque per agros hostis impetum fecerant, cum repens terror castris infertur. trepidare dux, ut qui hostes nusquam nisi raros in collibus ante Sicyonem non audentis agmen demittere in campos vidisset, ab Cleonis quidem accessuros numquam credidisset. revocari tuba iubet vagos a castris dilapsos; ipse raptim capere arma iussis militibus infrequenti agmine porta egressus super flumen instruit aciem. ceterae copiae, vix colligi atque instrui cum potuissent, primum hostium impetum non tulerunt; Macedones et maxime omnium frequentes ad signa fuerant et diu ancipitem victoriae spem fecerunt; postremo fuga ceterorum nudati, cum duae iam acies hostium ex diverso, levis armatura ab latere, clipeati caetratique a fronte urgerent, et ipsi re inclinata primo rettulere pedem, deinde impulsi terga vertunt et plerique abiectis armis, nulla spe castrorum

13 tenendorum relicta, Corinthum petierunt. Nicostratus mercennariis militibus ad hos persequendos, equitibus. Thracumque auxiliis in populatores agri Sicyonii missis magnam ibi quoque caedem edidit, maiorem prope
14 quam in proelio ipso. ex iis quoque, qui Pellenen Phliuntaque depopulati erant, incompositi partim omniumque ignari ad castra revertentes in hostium sta-
15 tiones tamquam in suas inlati sunt, partim ex discursu id, quod erat, suspicati ita se in fugam passim sparserunt, ut ab ipsis agrestibus errantes circumveni-
16 rentur. ceciderunt eo die mille et quingenti, capti trecenti. Achaia omnis magno liberata metu.

XVI. Priusquam dimicaretur ad Cynoscephalas, L. Quinctius Corcyram excitis Acarnanum principibus, quae sola Graeciae gentium in societate Macedonum
2 manserat, initium quoddam ibi motus fecit. duae autem maxime causae eos tenuerant in amicitia regis, una fides insita genti, altera metus odiumque Aetolo-
3 rum. concilium Leucadem indictum est. eo neque cuncti convenere Acarnanum populi, nec iis, qui convenerant, idem placuit; sed duo principes et magistratus pervicerunt, ut privatum decretum Romanae
4 societatis fieret. id omnes, qui afuerant, aegre passi; et in hoc fremitu gentis a Philippo missi duo principes Acarnanum, Androcles et Echedemus, non ad tollendum modo decretum Romanae societatis value-
5 runt, sed etiam ut Archelaus et Bianor, principes gentis ambo, quod auctores eius sententiae fuissent, proditionis in concilio damnarentur, et Zeuxidae praetori, quod de ea re rettulisset, imperium abrogaretur.
6 rem temerariam, sed eventu prosperam damnati fecerunt. suadentibus namque amicis, cederent tempori
7 et Corcyram ad Romanos abirent, statuerunt offerre se multitudini et aut eo ipso lenire iras aut pati
8 quod casus tulisset. Cum se frequenti concilio intu-

lissent, primo murmur ac fremitus admirantium, silentium mox a verecundia simul pristinae dignitatis ac misericordia praesentis fortunae ortum est. potestate 9
quoque dicendi facta principio suppliciter, procedente autem oratione, ubi ad crimina diluenda ventum est, cum tanta fiducia, quantum innocentia dabat, disseruerunt; postremo ultro aliquid etiam queri et casti- 10
gare iniquitatem simul in se crudelitatemque ausi ita adfecerunt animos, ut omnia, quae in eos decreta 11
erant, frequentes tollerent neque eo minus redeundum in societatem Philippi abnuendamque Romanorum amicitiam censerent.

XVII. Leucade haec sunt decreta. id caput Acarnaniae erat, eoque in concilium omnes populi conveniebant. itaque cum haec repentina mutatio Cor- 2
cyram ad legatum Flamininum perlata esset, extemplo cum classe profectus Leucadem ad Heraeum, quod vocant, naves adplicuit. inde cum omni genere tor- 3
mentorum machinarumque, quibus expugnantur urbes, ad muros accessit, ad primum terrorem ratus inclinari animos posse. postquam pacati nihil ostendebatur, 4
tum vineas turresque erigere et arietem admovere muris coepit.

Acarnania universa inter Aetoliam atque Epirum 5
posita solem occidentem et mare Siculum spectat. Leucadia nunc insula est, vadoso freto, quod perfossum 6
manu est, ab Acarnania divisa; tum paeninsula erat, occidentis regione artis faucibus cohaerens Acarnaniae; quingentos ferme passus longae eae fauces erant, latae 7
haud amplius centum et viginti. in iis angustiis Leucas posita est, colli adplicata verso in orientem et Acarnaniam; ima urbis plana sunt, iacentia ad mare, 8
quo Leucadia ab Acarnania dividitur. inde terra marique expugnabilis est; nam et vada sunt stagno similiora quam mari, et campus terrenus omnis ope-

9 rique facilis. itaque multis simul locis aut subruti
aut ariete decussi ruebant muri. sed quam urbs ipsa
opportuna oppugnantibus erat, tam inexpugnabiles
10 hostium animi. die ac nocte intenti reficere quassata
muri, obstruere, quae patefacta ruinis erant, proelia
impigre inire et armis magis muros quam se ipsos
11 moenibus tutari; diutiusque spe Romanorum obsi-
dionem eam extraxissent, ni exules quidam Italici
generis Leucade habitantes ab arce milites accepissent.
12 eos tamen ex superiore loco magno cum tumultu de-
currentes acie in foro instructa iusto proelio ali-
13 quamdiu Leucadii sustinuerunt. interim et scalis capta
multis locis moenia, et per stragem lapidum ac ruinas
14 transcensum in urbem; iamque ipse legatus magno
agmine circumvenerat pugnantes. tum pars in medio
15 caesi, pars armis abiectis dediderunt sese victori. et
post dies paucos audito proelio, quo ad Cynoscephalas
pugnatum erat, omnes Acarnaniae populi in dicionem
legati venerunt.

XVIII. Iisdem diebus, omnia simul inclinante
fortuna, Rhodii quoque ad vindicandam a Philippo
continentis regionem — Peraeam vocant — possessam
2 a maioribus suis, Pausistratum praetorem cum octin-
gentis Achaeis peditibus, mille et octingentis fere ar-
matis, ex vario genere auxiliorum collectis, miserunt;
3 Galli et Pisuetae et Nisuetae et Tamiani et Arei ex
4 Africa et Laudiceni ex Asia erant. cum iis copiis
Pausistratus Tendeba in Stratonicensi agro, locum per-
opportunum, ignaris regiis, qui Therae erant, occupavit.
5 in tempore et ad id ipsum excitum auxilium, mille
Achaei pedites cum centum equitibus supervenerunt;
6 Theoxenus iis praeerat. Dinocrates, regius praefectus,
reciperandi castelli causa primo castra ad ipsa Ten-
deba movet, inde ad alterum castellum, item Stratoni-
censis agri — Astragon vocant —; omnibusque prae-

sidiis, quae multifariam disiecta erant, devocatis 7
et ab ipsa Stratonicea Thessalorum auxiliaribus ad
Alabanda, ubi hostes erant, ducere pergit. nec Rho- 8
dii pugnam detractaverunt. ita castris in propinquo
locatis extemplo in aciem descensum est. Dinocrates 9
quingentos Macedonas dextro cornu, laevo Agrianas
locat, in medium accipit contractos ex castellorum —
Cares maxime erant — praesidiis, equites cornibus
circumdat et Cretensium auxiliares Thracumque. Rhodii 10
Achaeos milites, lectam peditum manum, habuere
medios, mixta ex pluribus gentibus auxilia, equites 11
levisque armaturae quod erat cornibus circumiectum.
eo die steterunt tantum acies utraque super ripam 12
torrentis qui tenui tum aqua interfluebat, paucisque
telis emissis in castra receperunt sese. postero die
eodem ordine instructi maius aliquanto proelium quam
pro numero edidere pugnantium. neque enim plus 13
terna milia peditum fuere et centeni ferme equites;
ceterum non numero tantum nec armorum genere, sed 14
animis quoque paribus et aequa spe pugnarunt. Achaei
primi torrente superato in Agrianas impetum fece-
runt; deinde tota prope cursu transgressa amnem 15
acies est. diu anceps pugna stetit. numero Achaei, 16
mille ipsi, quadringentos loco pepulere; inclinato
deinde laevo cornu in dextrum omnes conisi. Mace- 17
dones, usque dum ordines et veluti stipata phalanx
constabat, moveri nequiverunt; postquam laevo latere 18
nudato circumagere hastas in venientem ex trans-
verso hostem conati sunt, turbati extemplo tumultum
primo inter se fecerunt, terga deinde vertunt, post-
remo abiectis armis in praecipitem fugam effunduntur.
Bargylias petentes fugerunt; eodem Dinocrates per- 19
fugit. Rhodii quantum diei superfuit secuti receperunt
sese in castra. satis constat, si confestim victores
Stratoniceam petissent, recipi eam urbem sine cer-

20 tamine potuisse. praetermissa eius rei occasio est,
dum in castellis vicisque recipiendis Peraeae tempus
21 teritur. interim animi eorum, qui Stratoniceam praesidio obtinebant, confirmati sunt. mox et Dinocrates
cum iis, quae proelio superfuerant, copiis intravit
22 muros. nequiquam inde obsessa oppugnataque urbs est, nec recipi nisi aliquanto post per Antiochum potuit. haec in Thessalia, haec in Achaia, haec in Asia per eosdem dies ferme gesta.

XIX. Philippus cum audisset Dardanos transgressos finis ab contemptu concussi tum regni superiora
2 Macedoniae evastare, quamquam toto prope orbe terrarum, undique se suosque exigente fortuna, urge-
3 batur, tamen morte tristius ratus Macedoniae etiam possessione pelli, dilectu raptim per urbes Macedonum habito cum sex milibus peditum et quingentis equitibus circa Stobos Paeoniae improviso hostes oppressit.
4 magna multitudo hominum in proelio, maior cupidine praedandi palata per agros caesa est. quibus fuga in expedito fuit, ne temptato quidem casu pugnae
5 in finis suos redierunt. ea una expeditione, non pro reliquo statu fortunae facta, refectis suorum animis Thessalonicam sese recepit.

6 Non tam in tempore Punicum bellum terminatum erat, ne simul et cum Philippo foret bellandum, quam opportune iam Antiocho ex Syria movente bellum
7 Philippus est superatus; nam praeterquam quod facilius cum singulis, quam si in unum ambo simul contulissent vires, bellatum est, Hispania quoque sub idem tempus magno tumultu ad bellum consurrexit.
8 Antiochus cum priore aestate omnibus, quae in Coele Syria sunt, civitatibus ex Ptolomaei dicione in suam potestatem redactis in hiberna Antiocheam concesse-
9 sisset, nihilo quietiora ea ipsis aestivis habuit. omnibus enim regni viribus conixus cum ingentis copias

terrestris maritimasque comparasset, principio veris praemissis terra cum exercitu filiis duobus, Ardye ac Mithridate, iussisque Sardibus se opperiri ipse cum classe centum tectarum navium, ad hoc levioribus navigiis cercurisque ac lembis ducentis proficiscitur, simul per omnem oram Ciliciae Lyciaeque et Cariae temptaturus urbes, quae in dicione Ptolomaei essent, simul Philippum — necdum enim debellatum erat — exercitu navibusque adiuturus.

XX. Multa egregie Rhodii pro fide erga populum Romanum proque universo nomine Graecorum terra marique ausi sunt, nihil magnificentius, quam quod ea tempestate, non territi tanta mole imminentis belli, legatos ad regem miserunt, ne Chelidonias — promuntorium Ciliciae est inclutum foedere antiquo Atheniensium cum regibus Persarum — superaret: si eo fine non contineret classem copiasque suas, se obviam ituros, non ab odio ullo, sed ne coniungi eum Philippo paterentur et impedimento esse Romanis liberantibus Graeciam. Coracesium eo tempore Antiochus operibus oppugnabat, Zephyrio et Solis et Aphrodisiade et Coryco et superato Anemurio — promuntorium id quoque Ciliciae est — Selinunte recepto. omnibus his aliisque eius orae castellis aut metu aut voluntate sine certamine in dicionem acceptis, Coracesium praeter spem clausis portis tenebat eum. ibi legati Rhodiorum auditi. et quamquam ea legatio erat, quae accendere regium animum posset, temperavit irae et legatos se Rhodum missurum respondit iisque mandaturum, ut renovarent vetusta iura cum ea civitate sua maiorumque suorum et vetarent eos pertimescere adventum regis: nihil aut iis aut sociis eorum noxiae futurum fraudive; nam Romanorum amicitiam se non violaturum, argumento et suam recentem ad eos legationem esse et senatus honorifica in se de-

creta responsaque. tum forte legati redierant ab Roma comiter auditi dimissique, ut tempus postulabat, incerto adhuc adversus Philippum eventu belli. cum haec legati regis in contione Rhodiorum agerent, nuntius venit debellatum ad Cynoscephalas esse. hoc nuntio accepto Rhodii dempto metu a Philippo omiserunt consilium obviam eundi classe Antiocho; illam alteram curam non omiserunt tuendae libertatis civitatum sociarum Ptolomaei, quibus bellum ab Antiocho imminebat. nam alias auxiliis iuverunt, alias providendo ac praemonendo conatus hostis, causaque libertatis fuerunt Cauniis, Myndiis, Halicarnassensibus Samiisque. non operae est persequi, ut quaeque acta in his locis sint, cum ad ea, quae propria Romani belli sunt, vix sufficiam.

XXI. Eodem tempore Attalus rex aeger ab Thebis Pergamum advectus moritur altero et septuagesimo anno, cum quattuor et quadraginta annos regnasset. huic viro praeter divitias nihil ad spem regni fortuna dederat. iis simul prudenter, simul magnifice utendo effecit, primum ut sibi, deinde ut aliis non indignus videretur regno. victis deinde proelio uno Gallis, quae tum gens recenti adventu terribilior Asiae erat, regium adscivit nomen, cuius magnitudini semper animum aequavit. summa iustitia suos rexit, unicam fidem sociis praestitit, comis in uxorem ac liberos quos quattuor superstites habuit, mitis ac munificus amicis fuit; regnum adeo stabile ac firmum reliquit, ut ad tertiam stirpem possessio eius descenderit.

Cum hic status rerum in Asia Graeciaque et Macedonia esset, vixdum terminato cum Philippo bello, pace certe nondum perpetrata, ingens in Hispania ulteriore coortum est bellum. M. Helvius eam provinciam obtinebat. is litteris senatum certiorem fecit Culcham et Luxinium regulos in armis esse, cum

Culcha decem et septem oppida, cum Luxinio validas urbes Carmonem et Baldonem, in maritima ora Malacinos Sexetanosque et Baeturiam omnem et quae nondum animos nudaverant ad finitimorum motus consurrectura. his litteris a M. Sergio praetore, cuius 9
iurisdictio inter civis et peregrinos erat, recitatis decreverunt patres, ut comitiis praetorum perfectis, cui praetori provincia Hispania obvenisset, is primo quoque tempore de bello Hispaniae ad senatum referret.

XXII. Sub idem tempus consules Romam venerunt; quibus in aede Bellonae senatum habentibus postulantibusque triumphum ob res prospere bello gestas C. Atinius Labeo et C. Afranius tribuni plebis, ut separatim 2
de triumpho agerent consules, postularunt: communem se rationem de ea re fieri non passuros, ne par honos in dispari merito esset. cum Q. Minucius utri- 3
que Italiam provinciam obtigisse diceret, communi animo consilioque se et collegam res gessisse, et C. 4
Cornelius adiceret Boios adversus se transgredientis Padum, ut Insubribus Cenomanisque auxilio essent, depopulante vicos eorum atque agros collega ad sua tuenda aversos esse, tribuni res tantas bello gessisse 5
C. Cornelium fateri, ut non magis de triumpho eius quam de honore diis immortalibus habendo dubitari possit; non tamen nec illum nec quemquam alium 6
civem tantum gratia atque opibus valuisse, ut, cum sibi meritum triumphum impetrasset, collegae eundem honorem immeritum impudenter petenti daret. Q. Mi- 7
nucium in Liguribus levia proelia, vix digna dictu, fecisse, in Gallia magnum numerum militum amisisse; nominabant etiam tribunos militum; T. Iuventium, 8
Cn. Ligurium legionis quartae adversa pugna cum multis aliis viris fortibus, civibus ac sociis, cecidisse. oppidorum paucorum ac vicorum falsas et in tempus 9
simulatas sine ullo pignore deditiones factas esse.

10 hae inter consules tribunosque altercationes biduum tenuerunt, victique perseverantia tribunorum consules separatim rettulerunt. XXIII. C. Cornelio omnium consensu decretus triumphus. et Placentini Cremo-
2 nensesque addiderunt favorem consuli, gratias agentes commemorantesque obsidione sese ab eo liberatos, plerique etiam, cum capti apud hostes essent, servi-
3 tute exemptos. Q. Minucius temptata tantum relatione, cum adversum omnem senatum videret, in monte Albano se triumphaturum et iure imperii consularis et
4 multorum clarorum virorum exemplo dixit. C. Cornelius de Insubribus Cenomanisque in magistratu triumphavit. multa signa militaria tulit, multa Gallica
5 spolia captivis carpentis transvexit, multi nobiles Galli ante currum ducti, inter quos quidam Hamilcarem,
6 ducem Poenorum, fuisse auctores sunt; ceterum magis in se convertit oculos Cremonensium Placentinorumque colonorum turba, pilleatorum currum sequentium.
7 aeris tulit in triumpho ducenta triginta septem milia quingentos, argenti bigati undeoctoginta milia; septuageni aeris militibus divisi, duplex equiti centu-
8 rionique. Q. Minucius consul de Liguribus Boisque Gallis in monte Albano triumphavit. is triumphus, ut loco et fama rerum gestarum et, quod sumptum non erogatum ex aerario omnes sciebant, inhonoratior fuit, ita signis carpentisque et spoliis ferme aequabat.
9 pecuniae etiam prope par summa fuit; aeris tralata ducenta quinquaginta quattuor milia, argenti bigati quinquaginta tria milia et ducenti; militibus centurionibusque et equitibus idem in singulos datum, quod dederat collega.

XXIV. Secundum triumphum consularia comitia habita. creati consules L. Furius Purpurio et M.
2 Claudius Marcellus. praetores postero die facti Q. Fabius Buteo, Ti. Sempronius Longus, Q. Minucius

Thermus, M'. Acilius Glabrio, L. Apustius Fullo, C. Laelius.

Exitu ferme anni litterae a. T. Quinctio venerunt 3
se signis conlatis cum rege Philippo in Thessalia pugnasse, hostium exercitum fusum fugatumque. hae 4
litterae prius in senatu a M. Sergio praetore, deinde ex auctoritate patrum in contione sunt recitatae et ob res prospere gestas in dies quinque supplicationes decretae. brevi post legati et ab T. Quinctio et ab 5
rege Philippo venerunt. Macedones deducti extra urbem in villam publicam, ibique eis locus et lautia praebita et ad aedem Bellonae senatus datus. ibi 6
haud multa verba facta, cum Macedones, quodcumque senatus censuisset, id regem facturum esse dicerent. decem legati more maiorum, quorum ex consilio T. 7
Quinctius imperator leges pacis Philippo daret, decreti, adiectumque, ut in eo numero legatorum P. Sulpicius et P. Villius essent, qui consules provinciam Macedoniam obtinuissent.

Cosanis eo anno postulantibus, ut sibi colonorum 8
numerus augeretur, mille adscribi iussi, dum ne quis 9
in eo numero esset, qui post P. Cornelium et Ti. Sempronium consules hostis fuisset.

XXV. Ludi Romani eo anno in circo scaenaque ab aedilibus curulibus P. Cornelio Scipione et Cn. Manlio Vulsone et magnificentius quam alias facti et laetius propter res bello bene gestas spectati, totique ter instaurati. plebei septiens instaurati; M'. Acilius 2
Glabrio et C. Laelius eos ludos fecerunt; et de ar- 3
gento multaticio tria signa aenea, Cererem Liberumque et Liberam, posuerunt.

L. Furius et M. Claudius Marcellus consulatu 4
inito, cum de provinciis ageretur et Italiam utrique provinciam senatus decerneret, ut Macedoniam cum Italia sortirentur tendebant. Marcellus, provinciae 5

cupidior, pacem simulatam ac fallacem dicendo et rebellaturum, si exercitus inde deportatus esset, regem,
6 dubios sententiae patres fecerat. et forsitan obtinuisset consul, ni Q. Marcius Ralla et C. Atinius Labeo tribuni plebis se intercessuros dixissent, ni prius ipsi ad plebem tulissent, vellent iuberentne cum rege Philippo
7 pacem esse. ea rogatio in Capitolio ad plebem lata est; omnes quinque et triginta tribus 'uti rogas' iusserunt. et quo magis pacem ratam esse in Macedonia vulgo laetarentur, tristis ex Hispania adlatus
9 nuntius effecit vulgataeque litterae C. Sempronium Tuditanum proconsulem in citeriore Hispania proelio victum, exercitum eius fusum fugatumque, multos inlustris viros in acie cecidisse, Tuditanum cum gravi vulnere relatum ex proelio haud ita multo post expi-
10 rasse. consulibus ambobus Italia provincia cum iis legionibus, quas superiores consules habuissent, decreta, et ut quattuor legiones novas scriberent, duas urbanas, duas, quae quo senatus censuisset mitterentur;
11 et T. Quinctius Flamininus provinciam eodem exercitu obtinere iussus; imperium ei prorogatum satis iam ante videri esse. XXVI. praetores deinde provincias sortiti, L. Apustius Fullo urbanam iurisdictionem, M'. Acilius Glabrio inter civis et peregrinos, Q. Fabius Buteo Hispaniam ulteriorem,
2 Q. Minucius Thermus citeriorem, C. Laelius Siciliam,
3 Ti. Sempronius Longus Sardiniam. Q. Fabio Buteoni et Q. Minucio, quibus Hispaniae provinciae evenerant, consules legiones singulas ex quattuor ab se scriptis,
4 quas videretur, ut darent decretum est et socium ac Latini nominis quaterna milia peditum, trecenos equites; iique primo quoque tempore in provincias ire
5 iussi. bellum in Hispania quinto post anno motum est, quam simul cum Punico bello fuerat finitum.
6 Priusquam aut hi praetores ad bellum prope

novum, quia tum primum suo nomine sine ullo Punico exercitu aut duce ad arma ierant, proficiscerentur, aut ipsi consules ab urbe moverent, procurare, ut adsolet, prodigia, quae nuntiabantur, iussi. P. Villius 7
eques Romanus in Sabinos proficiscens fulmine ipse equusque exanimati fuerant; aedis Feroniae in Capenati de caelo tacta erat; ad Monetae duarum hastarum spicula arserant; lupus Esquilina porta ingressus, frequentissima parte urbis cum in forum decurrisset, Tusco vico atque inde Cermalo per portam Capenam 9
prope intactus evaserat. haec prodigia maioribus hostiis sunt procurata.

XXVII. Iisdem diebus Cn. Cornelius Blasio, qui ante C. Sempronium Tuditanum citeriorem Hispaniam obtinuerat, ovans ex senatus consulto urbem est ingressus. tulit prae se auri mille et quingenta quin- 2
decim pondo, argenti viginti milia, signati denarium triginta quattuor milia et quingentos. L. Stertinius 3
ex ulteriore Hispania, ne temptata quidem triumphi spe, quinquaginta milia pondo argenti in aerarium intulit et de manubiis duos fornices in foro bovario 4
ante Fortunae aedem et matris Matutae, unum in maximo circo fecit et his fornicibus signa aurata inposuit. haec per hiemem ferme acta. 5

Hibernabat eo tempore Elatiae T. Quinctius, a quo cum multa socii peterent, Boeoti petierunt impetraveruntque, ut, qui suae gentis militassent apud Philippum, sibi restituerentur. id a Quinctio facile 6
impetratum, non quia satis dignos eos credebat, sed quia Antiocho rege iam suspecto favor conciliandus nomini Romano apud civitates erat. restitutis iis 7
confestim apparuit, quam nulla inita apud Boeotos gratia esset; nam ad Philippum legatos gratias agentes ei pro redditis hominibus, perinde atque ipsis et non Quinctio et Romanis id datum esset, miserunt et

8 comitiis proximis Boeotarchen ob nullam aliam causam Brachyllem quendam, quam quod praefectus Boeo-
9 torum apud regem militantium fuisset, fecerunt praeteritis Zeuxippo et Pisistrato aliisque, qui Romanae
10 societatis auctores fuerant. id aegre et in praesentia hi passi et in futurum etiam metum ceperunt: cum ad portas prope sedente exercitu Romano ea fierent, quidnam se futurum esse profectis in Italiam Romanis,
11 Philippo ex propinquo socios adiuvante et infesto iis, qui partis adversae fuissent? XXVIII. dum Romana arma in propinquo haberent, tollere Brachyllem, prin-
2 cipem fautorum regis, statuerunt. et tempore ad eam rem capto, cum in publico epulatus reverteretur do-
3 mum temulentus prosequentibus mollibus viris, qui ioci causa convivio celebri interfuerant, ab sex armatis, quorum tres Italici, tres Aetoli erant, circumventus occiditur. fuga comitum et quiritatio facta et tumultus per totam urbem discurrentium cum luminibus;
4 percussores proxima porta evaserunt. luce prima contio frequens velut ex ante indicto aut voce praeconis convocata in theatro erat. palam ab suo comitatu et
5 obscenis illis viris fremebant interfectum, animis au-
6 tem Zeuxippum auctorem destinabant caedis. in praesentia placuit comprehendi eos, qui simul fuissent,
7 quaestionemque ex iis haberi. qui dum quaeruntur, Zeuxippus constanti animo avertendi ab se criminis causa in contionem progressus errare ait homines, qui tam atrocem caedem pertinere ad illos semiviros
8 crederent, multaque in eam partem probabiliter est argumentatus, quibus fidem apud quosdam fecit numquam, si sibi conscius esset, oblaturum se multitudini mentionemve eius caedis nullo lacessente facturum
9 fuisse; alii non dubitare impudenter obviam crimini eundo suspicionem averti. torti post paulo insontes, cum scirent ipsi nihil, opinione omnium pro indicio usi

Zeuxippum et Pisistratum nominaverunt nullo adiecto, cur scire quicquam viderentur, argumento. Zeuxippus 10
tamen cum Stratonida quodam nocte perfugit Tanagram, suam magis conscientiam quam indicium hominum nullius rei consciorum metuens; Pisistratus 11
spretis indicibus Thebis mansit. servus erat Zeuxippi, totius internuntius et minister rei, quem indicem Pisistratus timens eo ipso timore ad indicium protraxit. litteras ad Zeuxippum mittit, ut servum conscium tolleret: non tam idoneum ad celandam rem eum vi- 12
deri sibi, quam ad agendam fuerit. has qui tulerat litteras iussus Zeuxippo dare quam primum, quia non 13
statim conveniendi eius copia fuit, illi ipsi servo, quem ex omnibus domino fidissimum credebat, tradit et adicit a Pisistrato de re magno opere pertinente ad Zeuxippum esse. Conscientia ictus, cum extemplo 14
traditurum eas adfirmasset, aperit perlectisque litteris pavidus Thebas refugit et ad magistratus indicium defert. et Zeuxippus quidem fuga servi motus Anthe- 15
donem, tutiorem exilio locum ratus, concessit; de Pisistrato aliisque quaestiones tormentis habitae et sumptum supplicium est.

XXIX. Efferavit ea caedes Thebanos Boeotosque omnis ad execrabile odium Romanorum, credentis non sine consilio imperatoris Romani Zeuxippum, principem gentis, id facinus conscisse. ad rebellandum neque vires neque ducem habebant; proximum bello 2
quod erat, in latrocinium versi alios in hospitiis, alios vagos per hiberna milites ad varios commeantis usus excipiebant. quidam in ipsis itineribus ad notas la- 3
tebras ab insidiantibus, pars in deserta per fraudem deversoria deducti opprimebantur; postremo non tan- 4
tum ab odio sed etiam aviditate praedae ea facinora fiebant, quia negotiandi ferme causa argentum in zonis habentes in commeatibus erant. cum primo 5

pauci, deinde in dies plures desiderarentur, infamis esse Boeotia omnis coepit, et timidius quam in hostico
6 egredi castris miles. tum Quinctius legatos ad quaerendum de latrociniis per civitates mittit. plurimae caedes circa Copaidem paludem inventae; ibi ex limo eruta extractaque ex stagno cadavera saxis aut amphoris, ut pondere traherentur in profundum, adnexa; multa facinora Acraephiae et Coroneae facta invenie-
7 bantur. Quinctius primo noxios tradi sibi iussit et pro quingentis militibus — tot enim interempti erant;
8 — quingenta talenta Boeotos conferre. quorum cum fieret neutrum, verbis tantum civitates excusarent nihil publico consilio factum esse, missis Athenas et in Achaiam legatis, qui testarentur socios iusto pioque
9 se bello persecuturum Boeotos, et cum parte copiarum Ap. Claudio Acraephiam ire iusso ipse cum parte Coroneam circumsidit vastatis prius agris, qua ab Elatia
10 duo diversa agmina iere. hac perculsi clade Boeoti, cum omnia terrore ac fuga completa essent, legatos mittunt. qui cum in castra non admitterentur, Achaei
11 Atheniensesque supervenerunt. plus auctoritatis Achaei habuerunt deprecantes, quia, ni impetrassent pacem
12 Boeotis, bellum simul gerere decreverant. per Achaeos et Boeotis copia adeundi adloquendique Romanum facta est iussisque tradere noxios et multae nomine triginta conferre talenta pax data et ab oppugnatione recessum.

XXX. Paucos post dies decem legati ab Roma venerunt, quorum ex consilio pax data Philippo in
2 has leges est, ut omnes Graecorum civitates, quae in Europa quaeque in Asia essent, libertatem ac suas haberent leges; quae earum sub dicione Philippi fuissent, praesidia ex iis Philippus deduceret vacuasque
3 traderet Romanis ante Isthmiorum tempus; deduceret et ex iis, quae in Asia essent, Euromo Pedasisque et

Bargyliis et Iaso et Myrina et Abydo et Thaso et Perintho: eas quoque enim placere liberas esse; de Cianorum libertate Quinctium Prusiae, Bithynorum regi, scribere, quid senatui et decem legatis placuisset; captivos transfugasque reddere Philippum Romanis et navis omnis tectas tradere praeter quinque et regiam unam inhabilis prope magnitudinis, quam sedecim versus remorum agebant; ne plus quinque milia armatorum haberet neve elephantum ullum; bellum extra Macedoniae fines ne iniussu senatus gereret; mille talentum daret populo Romano, dimidium praesens, dimidium pensionibus decem annorum. Valerius Antias quaternum milium pondo argenti vectigal in decem annos impositum regi tradit; Claudius in annos triginta quaterna milia pondo et ducena, in praesens viginti milia pondo. idem nominatim adiectum scribit, ne cum Eumene Attali filio — novus is tum rex erat — bellum gereret. in haec obsides accepti, inter quos Demetrius Philippi filius. Adicit Antias Valerius Attalo absenti Aeginam insulam elephantosque dono datos, et Rhodiis Stratoniceam Cariaeque alias urbes, quas Philippus tenuisset; Atheniensibus insulas datas Parum, Imbrum, Delum, Scyrum.

XXXI. Omnibus Graeciae civitatibus hanc pacem adprobantibus soli Aetoli decretum decem legatorum clam mussantes carpebant: litteras inanis vana specie libertatis adumbratas esse; cur enim alias Romanis tradi urbes nec nominari eas, alias nominari et sine traditione liberas iuberi esse, nisi quod, quae in Asia sint, liberentur, longinquitate ipsa tutiores, quae in Graecia sint, ne nominatae quidem intercipiantur, Corinthus et Chalcis et Oreus cum Eretria et Demetriade? nec tota ex vano criminatio erat. dubitabatur enim de Corintho et Chalcide et Demetriade, quia in senatus consulto, quo missi decem legati ab urbe

erant, ceterae Graeciae atque Asiae urbes haud dubie
5 liberabantur, de iis tribus urbibus legati, quod tempora rei publicae postulassent, id e re publica fideque
6 sua facere ac statuere iussi erant. Antiochus rex erat, quem transgressurum in Europam, cum primum ei vires suae satis placuissent, non dubitabant; ei tam
7 opportunas ad occupandum patere urbes nolebant. ab Elatia profectus Quinctius Anticyram cum decem legatis, inde Corinthum traiecit. ibi consilia de libertate Graeciae dies prope totos in concilio decem
8 legatorum agitabantur. identidem Quinctius liberandam omnem Graeciam, si Aetolorum linguas retundere, si veram caritatem ac maiestatem apud omnis
9 nominis Romani vellent esse, si fidem facere ad liberandam Graeciam, non ad transferendum a Philippo
10 ad se imperium sese mare traiecisse. nihil contra ea de libertate urbium alii dicebant; ceterum ipsis tutius esse manere paulisper sub tutela praesidii Romani quam pro Philippo Antiochum dominum accipere.
11 postremo ita decretum est: Corinthus redderetur Achaeis, ut in Acrocorintho tamen praesidium esset; Chalcidem ac Demetriadem retineri, donec cura de Antiocho decessisset.

XXXII. Isthmiorum statum ludicrum aderat, semper quidem et alias frequens cum propter spectaculi studium insitum genti, quo certamina omnis generis
2 artium viriumque et pernicitatis visuntur, tum quia propter opportunitatem loci, per duo diversa maria omnium rerum usus ministrantis humano generi, con-
3 cilium Asiae Graeciaeque is mercatus erat; tum vero non ad solitos modo usus undique convenerant, sed expectatione erecti, qui deinde status futurus Graeciae, quae sua fortuna esset; alii alia non taciti solum opinabantur sed sermonibus etiam ferebant Romanos facturos; vix cuiquam persuadebatur Graecia omni ces-

suros. ad spectaculum consederant, et praeco cum 4
tubicine, ut mos est, in mediam aream, unde sollemni
carmine ludicrum indici solet, processit et tuba silentio
facto ita pronuntiat: 'senatus Romanus et T. Quinctius 5
imperator Philippo rege Macedonibusque devictis li-
beros, immunes, suis legibus esse iubet Corinthios,
Phocenses, Locrensesque omnis et insulam Euboeam
et Magnetas, Thessalos, Perrhaebos, Achaeos Phthio-
tas.' percensuerat omnis gentis, quae sub dicione 6
Philippi regis fuerant. audita voce praeconis maius
gaudium fuit, quam quod universum homines acci-
perent. vix satis credere se quisque audisse, et alii 7
alios intueri mirabundi velut ad somni vanam spe-
ciem; quod ad quemque pertinebat, suarum aurium
fidei minimum credentes, proximos interrogabant. re- 8
vocatus praeco, cum unusquisque non audire modo
sed videre libertatis suae nuntium averet, iterum pro-
nuntiavit eadem. tum ab certo iam gaudio tantus 9
cum clamore plausus est ortus totiensque repetitus,
ut facile appareret nihil omnium bonorum multitudini
gratius quam libertatem esse. ludicrum deinde ita 10
raptim peractum est, ut nullius nec animi nec oculi
spectaculo intenti essent adeo unum gaudium prae-
occupaverat omnium aliarum sensum voluptatium.
XXXIII. Ludis vero dimissis cursu prope omnes ten-
dere ad imperatorem Romanum, ut ruente turba in 2
unum adire, contingere dextram cupientium, coronas
lemniscosque iacientium haud procul periculo fuerit.
sed erat trium ferme et triginta annorum, et cum 3
robur iuventae tum gaudium ex tam insigni gloriae
fructu vires suppeditabat. nec praesens tantummodo 4
effusa est laetitia, sed per multos dies gratis et cogi-
tationibus et sermonibus renovata: esse aliquam in 5
terris gentem, quae sua impensa, suo labore ac peri-
culo bella gerat pro libertate aliorum nec hoc fini- 6

timis aut propinquae vicinitatis hominibus aut terris
7 continentibus iunctis praestet, sed maria traiciat, ne
quod toto orbe terrarum iniustum imperium sit, ubi-
que ius, fas, lex potentissima sint. una voce prae-
8 conis liberatas omnis Graeciae atque Asiae urbes;
hoc spe concipere audacis animi fuisse, ad effectum
adducere et virtutis et fortunae ingentis.

XXXIV. Secundum Isthmia Quinctius et decem
2 legati legationes regum gentiumque audivere. primi
omnium regis Antiochi vocati legati sunt. iis eadem
fere, quae Romae egerant, verba sine fide rerum
3 iactantibus nihil iam perplexe, ut ante, cum dubiae
res incolumi Philippo erant, sed aperte denuntiatum,
ut excederet Asiae urbibus, quae Philippi aut Ptolo-
maei regum fuissent, abstineret liberis civitatibus,
neu quam lacesseret armis: et in pace et in libertate
4 esse debere omnis ubique Graecas urbes. ante omnia
denuntiatum, ne in Europam aut ipse transiret aut
5 copias traiceret. dimissis regis legatis conventus civi-
tatum gentiumque est haberi coeptus; eoque maturius
peragebatur, quod decreta decem legatorum in civi-
6 tates nominatim pronuntiabantur. Orestis — Mace-
donum ea gens est —, quod primi ab rege defecissent,
suae leges redditae. Magnetes et Perrhaebi et Do-
7 lopes liberi quoque pronuntiati. Thessalorum genti
praeter libertatem concessam Achaei Phthiotae dati,
Thebis Phthioticis et Pharsalo excepta. Aetolos de
Pharsalo et Leucade postulantes, ut ex foedere sibi
8 restituerentur, ad senatum reiecerunt. Phocenses Lo-
crensesque, sicut ante fuerant, adiecta decreti aucto-
9 ritate iis contribuerunt. Corinthus et Triphylia et
Heraea — Peloponnesi et ipsa urbs est — reddita
10 Achaeis. Oreum et Eretriam decem legati Eumeni
regi, Attali filio, dabant dissentiente Quinctio; ea una
res in arbitrium senatus reiecta est; senatus libertatem

his civitatibus dedit Carysto adiecta. Pleurato Lych- 11
nidus et Parthini dati; Illyriorum utraque gens sub
dicione Philippi fuerant. Amynandrum tenere ius-
serunt castella, quae per belli tempus Philippo capta
ademisset.

XXXV. Dimisso conventu decem legati, partiti
munia inter se, ad liberandas suae quisque regionis
civitates discesserunt, P. Lentulus Bargylias, L. Ster- 2
tinius Hephaestiam et Thasum et Thraeciae urbes,
P. Villius et L. Terentius ad regem Antiochum, Cn.
Cornelius ad Philippum. qui de minoribus rebus 3
editis mandatis percunctatus, si consilium non utile
solum sed etiam salutare admittere auribus posset,
cum rex gratias quoque se acturum diceret, si quid, 4
quod in rem suam esset, expromeret, magno opere 5
ei suasit, quoniam pacem impetrasset, ad societatem
amicitiamque petendam mitteret Romam legatos, ne,
si quid Antiochus moveret, expectasse et temporum 6
opportunitates captasse ad rebellandum videri posset.
ad Tempe Thessalica Philippus est conventus. qui 7
cum se missurum extemplo legatos respondisset, Cor- 8
nelius Thermopylas, ubi frequens Graeciae statis die-
bus esse solet conventus — Pylaicum appellant —,
venit; Aetolos praecipue monuit, constanter et fideliter 9
in amicitia populi Romani permanerent. Aetolorum 10
principes alii leniter questi sunt, quod non idem erga
suam gentem Romanorum animus esset post victoriam,
qui in bello fuisset, alii ferocius incusarunt expro- 11
braruntque non modo vinci sine Aetolis Philippum,
sed ne transire quidem in Graeciam Romanos potuisse.
adversus ea respondere, ne in altercationem cresceret 12
res, cum supersedisset Romanus, omnia eos aequa
impetraturos, si Romam misissent, dixit. itaque ex
auctoritate eius decreti legati sunt. hunc finem bel-
lum cum Philippo habuit.

NOTES

BOOK XXX

MILITARY AND POLITICAL ASSIGNMENTS FOR THE YEAR 203 B.C.

I: 1. **Cn. Servilius Caepio** and **C. Servilius Geminus**; consuls for the year A.U.C. 551. As the traditional date for the founding of Rome was 754 B.C. this is equivalent to 203 B.C. by our method of dating. 753

2. **cum . . . rettulissent**: the regular formula for the first official act of the year in the senate. **Provincia** means "sphere of activity." Hannibal being encamped in Southern Italy, the consul to whom Bruttium was assigned would be in command against him. The command in the north, Etruria and Liguria, would include the duty of preventing unrest and hostility in these territories and that of supporting the Roman army in Gaul against Mago and any possible reinforcements for Hannibal coming from Spain.

3. **P. Sempronius** and **M. Cornelius**: consuls of the preceding year.

pro consule imperium: the power of command which would have been his in this particular situation had he been consul.

P. Licinius: in command of two legions in Bruttium during the preceding year.

4. **reverteretur**: the construction still depends upon *censuerunt*.

ad cetera: equivalent to *praeter cetera* (or perhaps *super cetera*): "in addition to other qualities."

habebatur: "was considered."

6. **provincia**: in apposition to *Brutiis*, **decretum**: sc. *est*.

7. **Galliam**: between the Alps and the Roman territory, including Cisalpine Gaul (independent) and the *Ager Gallicus* (Roman).

obtineret: syntax dependent on the idea of *iussus* (*est*).

8. **in sortem**: *i.e.*, the lots representing these areas were put into the jar to be drawn.

9. **iuris dictionem urbanam**: jurisdiction in Rome. This was the original and proper function of a praetor; military command was given him when emergency demanded.

Ariminum: in the *Ager Gallicus*. Here implies the command in Gaul.

10. **Magone**: Mago was Hannibal's youngest brother, commanding a mixed army in Gaul.

fine: a loose ablative construction, probably a sort of ablative of means, the verb having the idea not only of extension but of limitation.

II: 1. **In**: "for" Sicily, or "for (service in)" Sicily.

traiceret: intransitive.

2. **placuerat**: "they had decided." This decision is not elsewhere recorded.

4. **praetori item**: an unimportant error on Livy's part; he had been already propraetor the year before.

6. **incerta belli**: "the emergencies of the war."

7. **Hispaniae**: "Hither and Farther Spain," sometimes spoken of as one: Hispania.

8. **ludos magnos**: Q. Fabius Maximus had first vowed these games in 217 B.C. when Hannibal was threatening Rome. Torquatus had performed them last in 208 B.C. and renewed the vow.

9. **religiones**: "religious scruples."

prodigia: all extraordinary natural happenings as well as freaks of nature were considered by the Romans as ominous and were officially noted. The custom of recording them continues through the medieval chronicles.

12. **arcus**: "a ring."

maior solis orbis: "a larger sun." Evidently means a larger ring with the brilliance of the sun.

13. **sinum**: "valley," or "hollow."

caput iocinoris: "a projection on the liver."

maioribus: "full grown."

ACTIVITIES AND NEGOTIATIONS IN AFRICA

III: 1. **ibi summam rerum bellique verti**: "on that campaign the whole of the question of the war depended." *belli* defines *rerum*.

2. **eo**: adverbial, "thither." Cf. **quo**: II: 5.

3. **Hasdrubalis**: This is Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, who had fought with distinction in Spain and was now in command of the Carthaginian armies in Africa. He was at this time supporting

Utica, the large Carthaginian port, besieged by the Romans, about fifty miles from Carthage.

4. **Syphacis**: Syphax was King of Numidia. After having supported at various times both Rome and Carthage he had finally married Sophonisba, the daughter of Hasdrubal, and was fighting with the Carthaginians.

5. **ab Syphace . . . adferebatur**: It is implied (as argued later) that messengers were sent to him by Scipio. Both *condiciones* and *spes* are subjects of the verb.

6. **pars maior**: "the majority of writers." *Auctores* is predicate nominative. Valerius Antias was one of the Annalists that Livy used as a source. Cf. Introduction.

7. **abnuere** and **facere** are so-called historical infinitives. (A. & G. 463.)[1]

agitantibus: the participle is used as a noun but retains a verbal force so that the object *eam* (from *rem*) is understood with it.

9. **textis** and **tectis** are in agreement with *hibernaculis* understood, expressing place in which after *habitabant*.

storea: "rush-matting."

pars maxima: in apposition with *Numidae*, limiting it in meaning.

ut: something like *fit* is understood: "as happens," or even, "as was natural."

SCIPIO'S STRATEGY AND ITS SUCCESS

IV: 1. **mitteret**: the subjunctive because Livy is thinking of Scipio's *plan* and the idea is that they were not sent to Syphax except as a pretence.

calonum: "servants," an army term.

primos ordines: centurions of the front line troops.

2. **alius alia**: **alia** is an adverb: "one in one place, one in another."

3. **insidiantibus**: cf. **textis** in **III**: 9.

de industria: a compound adverb = *industrie*.

5. **promeret**: an indirect command with the object (*eam*) understood. *Consuleret* is similar.

6. **in rem**: "pertinent to his purpose."

8. **quibusdam . . . iniquis**: "certain unfair conditions."

per occasionem: cf. *de industria* in § 3.

tollere indutias: "end the truce."

10. **libera fide**: "freed from his pledge."

[1] Allen and Greenough, *New Latin Grammar*, Boston, 1916.

V: 1. **Masinissa:** part of ablative absolute with *iussis*. Masinissa was claimant to the throne of Numidia and had first fought with the Carthaginians, but finally joined Rome.

2. **praetorio:** "council of war."

signa concinuissent: "the signal had sounded." *Signa* in the next line has its more common meaning of "standard."

3. **sub occasum solis:** "just before sunset."

ad primam ferme, etc.: "it was close to the end of the first watch when the marching line was in order."

4. C. Laelius was the constant friend and lieutenant of Scipio both in Spain and in Africa.

8. **quidem:** by special emphasis gives to the clause a concessive tone which is confirmed by the *ceterum* in the following clause.

9. **incidere** = *inciderunt*, or else, like *credere*, below, an "historical" infinitive.

VI: 1. **credere et ipsi:** "they too believed."

2. **an . . . esset:** the construction is loose. If the text is right the clause depends on *confusis* which is substantive (cf. **III:** 7.) and implies uncertainty of mind.

3. **ut quibus:** an elliptical phrase: "as was natural for men by whom."

4. **praeterquam . . . etiam:** "not only . . . but also."

ut in tali tumultu: cf. preceding section, *ut quibus*.

7. **magna pars:** restrictive apposition: cf. **III:** 6.

8. **ad:** "approximately," probably with the idea that this was the upper limit of probability.

OPERATIONS AGAINST HASDRUBAL AND SYPHAX

VII: 1. **Afrorum:** to be taken with *urbem*. The city was called Anda according to Appian.

3. **loco munito:** Polybius says Abba: probably the town which Livy calls Obba in § 10 below.

5. **sufetes:** the two chief magistrates of the Carthaginians.

6. **legatos decernebat:** "proposed the sending of ambassadors." *Revocabat* and *censebat* have the same sense of "proposing."

Romanae. Livy's national pride had on the whole received justification in the earlier part of the war.

7. **Barcinae factionis:** the war party at Carthage was so named after Hamilcar Barca, father of Hannibal.

8. **agris:** "all the rural districts," meaning the whole country outside the immediate neighbourhood of Carthage.

uxor: *Sophonisba*, daughter of Hasdrubal.

10. **legati**: cf. § 8.

Celtiberorum: natives of central Spain.

conducta: "hired"; these are mercenaries, not allies, collected by the recruiting officers (*conquisitoribus*).

11. **respondit**: the change to historical present is to make the narrative more dramatically vivid and is characteristic of Livy.

VIII: 1. **debellato**: ablative absolute with *bello* or a similar substantive understood.

quod: "as far as," equivalent to *quantum:* the expression is idiomatic and probably results from the colloquial ellipsis of a demonstrative in the ablative, made easier by the increased familiarity with the use of the accusative to express specification. The clause as a whole limits *debellato*.

3. **lacessendo**: sc. *stationes,* "the enemy outposts."

5. **in aciem . . . descensum est**: "led out to battle."

Romanus ff.: the regular formation familiar from Caesar.

Italicum: means here "Roman," although the Roman cavalry was drawn largely from the Italian allies.

7. **accepere**: "assigned." Literally, "received," they being new arrivals, but it means "received and placed."

agrestes: implies their inexperience, for they were fresh levies. This is confirmed by *et ipse novus miles.*

super cetera: cf. *ad cetera,* I: 4.

8. **oppugnatum**: supine.

PARTIALLY SUCCESSFUL ATTACK ON ROMAN FLEET

IX: 2. **dicionis**: "under the sway;" really a possessive genitive.

4. **obsidioni**: dative of purpose with *sunt*.

5. **mentio**: *i.e.,* at Carthage, presumably in the senate.

6. **excipiendos**: cf. III: 4, which shows that this means "for intercepting the Roman supplies."

mittere iubent: "bid the senate send."

stationem: cf. VIII: 2: "the fleet off Utica."

navalia castra: this camp had been established as winter came on in the preceding year.

7. **quippe**: regularly introduces an explanation existing in someone's mind, here in that of the supporters of the plan. Translate: "for."

ut felicissime ff.: the *ut* clause is concessive. There is then a further sense of concession produced by the contrast between the situation at Utica and that at Carthage, emphasized by the chiastic order. May be freely translated: "however successful the action of the fleet might be, the siege of Utica would, to be sure, in some degree be relieved, but," etc.

9. **cessasset**: "had shown slackness."

Tuneta: modern Tunis. In XXXVI: 9 the MSS. give the accusative as *Tunetem*.

12. **suapte**: a strengthened form of *sua*: "its own."

possit: the subjunctive indicates that this is the purpose in Scipio's mind: "which might," etc.

X: 1. **cum maxime**: "just when."

2. **versae**: with the two nouns, *versae* has first the literal, then the figurative meaning.

3. **qui**: "how," an old ablative form which became an interrogative adverb.

agili: "mobile."

4. **postquam eo** ff.: "when it had come to a situation quite the reverse of what is usual in a naval engagement."

5. **tabulas**: "planks."

6. **pervium**: "a gangway."

pontibus: these are the constructions between the ships, made of masts, spars, and planks.

11. **contra**: used adverbially: "to meet them."

12. **proxime**: may be followed by the dative, the accusative, or the ablative with *ab*.

13. **utpote supino iactu**: *utpote* like *quippe* introduces an explanation, but one of fact not hypothesis. Here it introduces the explanation of *vana* in the vivid phrase which pictures the soldiers leaning backwards to hurl their weapons upward.

libratior: "more forceful."

16. **harpagones**: the word is Greek and the invention was credited to Pericles.

17. **incidere**: the second *i* is long: "cut through."

inhibita: "rowed backwards:" by backing water with the oars.

traheret: the subjunctive seems to be due to the influence of the usage with *cum* circumstantial.

videres: so-called potential subjunctive.

19. **hoc maxime modo**: "in this general fashion."

20. **puppibus**: perhaps as an indignity, perhaps simply because they had been thus seized.

maior . . . laetitia: sc. *fuit*.

ex insperato: cf. IV: 3: *de industria*.

21. **cum eo**: "with this [additional] circumstance."

fuisse: A. & G. 517. b. *fuisse* represents a *fuit* in the direct discourse.

CAPTURE OF SYPHAX

XI: 1. **Maesulii**: Neither Masinissa nor Syphax had ever been really king of a united Numidia. The former had been king of the Maesulii in north central Numidia, the latter of the Masaesulii, a more westerly tribe.

3. **neutiquam**: "by no means."

aegrum amore: "love-sick." Sophonisba was his wife; Hasdrubal, her father.

5. **centurionibus**: sent to him from Spain ten years before.

exercitu: ablative of means, the phrase *ire in hostes* being equivalent to "attack."

6. **progredi**: this and the following infinitives are good examples of the so-called historical usage. In reality they are nouns presenting the action vividly by simply naming the successive phases.

7. **vincentibus, pulsis**: substantives.

9. **pedes Romanus**: not the legionaries, who advance later, but the light armed auxiliaries who sift through the squadrons of cavalry.

suis: "to their own infantry."

invehentem sese: "riding."

segnius permittere equos: "eased up on their horses."

10. **audentem**: "made bold."

XII: 4. **vis hominum**: as appears from § 8 below, this crowd did not know of the capture of Syphax, but must have been those who fled first.

5. **plus, minus**: for construction, cf. A. & G. 407, c.

eius: sc. *numeri*.

6. **dicere**: historical infinitive.

9. **quaerentium**: substantive.

12. **rata**: Livy does not know the tradition given by other writers that she had been betrothed to Masinissa, with the result that Livy's narrative is even more dramatic than it would have been otherwise.

quidem: correlative with *sed*.

15. *alienigena* is a man born in another land, while *externus* is one of foreign race.

17. **propius blanditias**: cf. use of *maxime* in X: 12.

18. **Venerem**: the goddess stands for the passion.

obligandae fidei: as it stands, this must be a dative of purpose. It is tempting to assume that *causa* has fallen out after *fidei*.

19. **fidem praestaret**: Scipio or Laelius would hardly ratify.

20. **integri**: "unprejudiced."

21. **conatus sit**: for the tense, A. & G. 485, c, Note 2.
22. **captivis** = *ceteris captivis.*

XIII: 2. **quantum plurimum**: "just as much as;" the correlative *tantum* is understood with *addebat.*

augendo: the temptation is strong to take this as the relic of an older use of the dative of the gerund expressing purpose. (Cf. the use of the gerundive in VI: 3.) But after Plautus the gerund in the dative with a direct object does not occur and there is no evidence of such a gerund in the dative of purpose. It is therefore necessary to take it as a modal ablative: "in magnifying."

4. **suus**: these are the remarks of Roman soldiers.
6. **pacem**: "favour."
8. **rapto**: substantive: "by means of plunder."
viventis: agrees with *eius.*
9. **animum**: "courage."
12. **facibus**: this and other expressions in the speech of Syphax are Roman terms put in his mouth by Livy.

delenimentis: "allurements," with the suggestion of charms or witchcraft.

13. **solacii**: genitive of the whole.

domum ac penates: this really is rhetorical repetition but there is in *penates* the added suggestion of intimate family relationship. Cf. "hearth and home."

14. **videat**: the change of tense is not easy, but he is thinking of the present situation as compared with the past events leading up to it.

Syphacem: for *se*, to be more dramatic.

DEATH OF SOPHONISBA

XIV: 2. **fidem**: direct object of *faciebant* of which the first subject is *nuptiae.*

criminibus: "charges."

The impression of haste is emphasized by the omission of *eam* with both *captam* and *iunctam,* of *die* with *eodem,* and of *cum se* with *iunctam.*

ad penates hostis sui: in the home of Syphax. The nuptial sacrifice is another Roman custom.

3. **nullius . . . captivae**: "no captive girl's beauty had affected him."

volutanti: substantive.

supervenerunt: "came up," "arrived to see him."

frequenti praetorio: "in full council."

celebrasset: "had honored."

4. **bona**: "good qualities."

5. **in fidem meam commisisse**: "had committed to my keeping."

9. **auspiciis**: Masinissa was fighting for Rome and all victories won by Roman armies or those of her allies were won by Rome. Literally this means under the auspices taken for the people by the consuls.

10. **oporteret**: Sophonisba is primarily in his mind, but the verb is impersonal and only the singular was used after the time of Terence.

11. **cave deformes**: A. & G. 450.

XV: 1. **se quidem**: "as far as he himself was concerned." The implied contrast is that he could not guarantee Sophonisba's compliance.

fidei . . . consuleret: "should respect his promise rashly given."

4. **mixtum**: sc. *venenum*.

5. **primam fidem**: *i.e.*, that he should protect her; the second obligation is to save her from Roman hands: cf. **XII**: 16.

6. **consuleret**: the tenses are not consistent. *adimant* and *veniat* put the message in the vivid present; with this sentence the construction falls back to a more ordinary indirect discourse in the past.

8. **ferocius**: "with greater spirit."

10. **tristiorem**: "more cruel."

11. **motu**: "emotion," "distraction."

13. **ducat**: "think."

NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE

XVI: 1. **ad Tuneta**: Cf. **IX**: 10 ff. for the beginning and abandoning of this camp.

2. **munimenta permunit** is rather awkward but means "completed the fortifications."

ab . . . oppugnatione: the source of the joy expressed in *gaudio perfusi*.

3. **nullo . . . audito**: "without listening to."

id: *i.e.*, the thirty leaders, evidently a sort of executive committee of the senate.

5. **oriundi**: simple adjective.

procubuerunt: "prostrated themselves."

6. **incolumi** ff.: *futurae* has a potential sense, "which would be if peace were granted." *iterum* of course has reference to the First Punic War and the present disaster.

7. **ex victis hostibus**: "from victory over enemies."

8. **spe, spem**: these are defined by the clause *victoriam . . . esse*. His hope had been for a definitive victory.

10. **leges**: the commander could propose the terms but the final approval lay with the senate.

12. **parum convenit**: "is inconsistently reported." *parum* is little more than a simple negative in this phrase.

pondo: originally an ablative, came to be used adverbially as here.

14. **quippe**: cf. **IX**: 7. Translate *quippe qui:* "since they."

traiceret: intransitive: "cross."

15. **in speciem**: "for the sake of appearances:" defined further by the purpose clause, *quo . . . esset*.

XVII: 5. **quin**: negative of the adverb *qui:* literally, "how not." Translate: "but."

quibusque aliis: "and in other ways by which."

6. **aeditui**: "keepers of the temples."

9. **decorasset**: like *fecisset,* is dependent upon *gratias egerunt quod*.

11. **amplum**: some word is understood: the sense is that this would be sufficient to win him the favour of the people.

12. **cordi**: originally a dative, came to be used almost as an indeclinable adjective: "pleasing."

14. **ne minus**: the idea of *iussus* is carried on and some such verb as *darentur* is understood.

quinum milium aeris: "[gifts] of not less than five thousand sesterces each."

loca: perhaps free tickets to shows; uncertain.

lautia: "living expenses."

EVENTS IN GAUL

XVIII: 1. **Insubrum**: these Gauls lived in a district north from Genoa between the Po and the Alps.

Magone: cf. **I**: 9.

2. **ad prima . . . advectus**: "rode by the front line standards."

3. **commovebant**: clear enough in general, but the exact meaning is doubtful. If Cornelius and Quinctilius are the subject, then *milites* are the object and the meaning is that they did not succeed in getting the line to move forward. Otherwise, with *Romani* understood as subject and *hostes* as object, it means that the Romans did not push back the enemy.

induratur . . . timor: "by their unexpected resistance the enemy's fear is stilled."

4. **excitemus oportet**: comes pretty close to the original usage in which the first verb is hortatory, the *oportet* parenthetical.

7. **ut turbae**, etc.: *ut* is correlative with *ita*, two lines below. This construction presents two ideas for comparison: only when there is essential contrast within the clauses (as here) does the tone of concession enter.

in ablatum: sc. *equitem:* "against the cavalry, carried to a distance by their frightened horses."

12. **omnibus peditibus**: two legions were still being held in reserve up to this point.

15. **inde**: "from that legion."

XIX: 1. **Ligures Ingaunos**: The Ligurians were the Gauls of the large district between the upper Po and the Gulf of Genoa. The *Ingauni* were a division of these Gauls on the Gulf itself.

3. **quoque**: sc. *eam quoque*, explained by the *et fratrem* following.

in eo: "in such a state."

6. **C. Servílius**: cf. I: 8. Etruria and Liguria had been assigned as his "province."

8. **patre** ff.: In 218 B.C., when Hannibal was on his way from Spain, the Boii had seized the Roman commissioners who were assigning land to colonists around Placentia. The Roman army was unable to defeat the Boii and Hannibal's forces arrived in Italy the next spring. *Tannetum* is between Mutina and Placentia.

patre . . . circumdatis: "with one on each side."

9. **latum ad populum est**: Sons of holders of curule offices could not by law, during the lives of their fathers, hold the plebeian offices of tribune and aedile otherwise open to them. As this was established by law, the release from penalty had to be put to the popular assembly.

perlata: "carried."

HANNIBAL'S DEPARTURE FROM ITALY

10. **Cn. Servilium**: cf. I: 8.

Consentia, etc.: unimportant towns mostly in the hills of Bruttium. Croton was on the coast by the western entrance to the Gulf of Tarentum. It had been Hannibal's headquarters for some years.

senescere: the word is used less in the literal than in this more suggestive sense of "wearing out," "growing sluggish as it approached the end."

11. **Valerius Antias**: cf. III: 6.

neglegenter praetermissa: *i.e.*, by other writers.

12. **nihil rei**: probably colloquial, as it is chiefly found in comedy where it means "no business."

XX: 4. **Hanno:** leader of the aristocratic opposition to the Barca family in Carthage. This opposition he had shown clearly, according to Livy, when Hannibal first went to Spain. The moneyed class of traders, the aristocracy of Carthage, desired peace for the sake of commercial profit at almost any price. This situation is behind Hannibal's bitterness.

5. **continebantur:** "were still held."

6. **Iunonis Laciniae:** She is so called from the promontory, Lacinium, where the temple stood. Livy does not make here any careful distinction between *delubrum* and *templum*. Both words were originally general in meaning, one a place of expiation, the other a place marked or cut off. Here for *delubrum* perhaps "sanctuary" best keeps the tone.

7. **ferunt:** "they say."

8. **exsecratum:** sc. *esse:* "called down curses."

Cannensi victoria: The Roman's worst disaster of the war in 216 B.C. The defeat at Lake Trasumenus occurred in the preceding year. After Cannae Hannibal spent much time partly in winning by bribery and force the towns of Campania, partly, so tradition has it, in fatally luxurious inactivity.

9. **consenuisse:** "wasted away."

DISCUSSIONS IN ROME

XXI: 1. **gratulationis:** "source of satisfaction."

minuit: the subject is two-fold, consisting of the two *quod* clauses.

3. **Saguntini:** Saguntum was the town in Spain, the attack on which by Hannibal in 218 B.C. began the Second Punic War.

4. **traiecissent:** the subjunctive indicates that this is the explanation of the Saguntines. (A. & G. 590.) H-B 535.a

5. **reddito:** evidently to the Saguntines.

6. **mentio:** the comment or observation was made by the older members. What follows is the indirect statement of their comment.

8. **en umquam,** etc.: substance of the *voces*.

9. **gratiam:** "favour," appreciated not even in the moment of its granting.

nedum ut: "to say nothing of their being mindful." *Nedum* is not often used until later with *ut* following. It regularly follows a clause with a negative introducing one with a still stronger negative idea.

10. **referret:** "put the question."

11. **dimisso Laelio:** inconsistent with **XVII:** 2. The mistake may be due to Livy's following different sources from time to time.

Puteolis: on the Bay of Naples, presumably where they landed.

12. **ingredi urbem**: because still at war with Rome. They were entertained in the Villa Publica, a public building on the Campus Martius, technically outside the city because outside the Servian Wall. The temple of the goddess Bellona was nearby.

senatus . . . datus est: "a hearing before the senate was granted them."

XXII: 2. **Hiberum**: This river had been fixed by treaty as the limit of the Carthaginian sphere of influence in Spain. When Hannibal crossed it to attack Saguntum he precipitated the Second Punic War.

4. **cum C. Lutatio**: the treaty which closed the First Punic War in 241 B.C.

6. **Punica fraude**: According to Roman prejudice good faith was typical of themselves, bad faith of the Carthaginians. This traditional attitude may have arisen more from Punic cleverness than from inherent dishonesty.

XXIII: 1. **propior**: nearer than his colleague.

2. **quam quanta**: seems unnecessarily explicit; meaning is simply "than this matter was."

3. **Q. Metellus**: sc. *censebat*.

6. **et Scipionem**: "even Scipio;" *i.e.*, in spite of his successes he had had to count on this further situation.

in eo: explained in the *si Hannibal* clause.

8. **discessum**: sc. *est*. This is the technical parliamentary term for voting on a division of the house. It may be used loosely for "going over" to someone's opinion.

XXIV: 1. **pacatae Italiae . . . gloria**: "the glory of bringing peace to Italy."

3. **pro iure maioris imperii**: "by virtue of his higher jurisdiction." The Dictator had authority over all magistrates except the tribunes.

4. **noscendis**: "hearing."

6. **onerariis, longis navibus**: ablative of accompaniment without *cum*. (A. & G. 413 a.)

7. **Africum**: "the south-west wind."

8. **Apollinis promuntorium**: just west of Carthage, near Utica. The exact location of Calidae Aquae is neither clear nor important.

10. **vocare**: narrative (historical) infinitive, used to present the scene more vividly.

12. **puppibus**: cf. **X**: 20.

XXV: 3. **tutiorem:** *i.e.*, than staying in Carthage.

5. **ad Uticam:** "off Utica."

7. **quis:** contracted form of *quibus*.

11. **Hannibali:** after *dixisset*.

abominatus: "having wished away the evil omen."

Leptim: evidently Leptis Minor, a little over a hundred miles south-east from Carthage.

EVENTS AT CLOSE OF 203 B.C.

XXVI: 1. **Ti. Claudius Nero:** praetor in Sicily in 204.

2. **sociarum urbium:** cities in Greece allied to Rome, like Apollonia.

regiis praesidiis: Philip V, King of Macedonia, had long been ambitious to control the Adriatic. In 216 B.C., after Cannae, he had begun negotiations to ally himself with Carthage. These were concluded in 215. He had several times made attacks on allies of Rome both by sea and from his border fortresses. A peace had been signed however in 205 B.C.

res repetendas: "to seek restitution."

3. **Sopatro:** a general of Philip's, later captured by the Romans.

4. **regem:** Philip.

foedus: the peace treaty of 205 B.C.

5. **clivus Publicius:** the street which ran down the Aventine and into the city by the Forum Boarium, west of the Circus Maximus.

aquarum: "rain."

annonae: first, the annual crop, then, the price of grain.

pace: *i.e.*, by the departure of Hannibal.

6. **quaternis aeris:** *i.e.*, four asses per bushel.

vicatim: "district by district."

7. **Q. Fabius Maximus:** called *Cunctator* because of his policy against Hannibal after he was made dictator in 217 B.C. Cicero's description of his achievement is perhaps the best: *Bellum Punicum secundum enervavit.*

8. **quod:** with *qui dicunt* understood, made easier by the use of the accusative of specification.

vel si: *i.e.*, he would have been worthy of it, even if it had been a new name beginning with him. As a matter of fact, he inherited it.

9. **cautior quam promptior:** A. & G. 292. NB 242

10. **Ennius:** the first great epic poet of Rome, although Naevius had written the history of the First Punic War in Saturnian verse. Ennius, a contemporary of the Second War, wrote his *Annales,*

a history of Rome to his own times, in eighteen books of hexameter verse.

duo sacerdotia: both offices were considered priesthoods. The first had to do with the interpretation of omens, the second more generally with public ceremonies.

11. **diem unum:** extent of time, or specification. It means that one day of the games was repeated because of some technical error, while the Plebeian Games were repeated in their entirety three times. It is not known how many days the games normally occupied at this period: originally confined to a single day, they occupied, by the end of the Republic, a fortnight each.

12. **coniurationibus principum:** nothing further is known about this.

OFFICIAL ASSIGNMENTS

XXVII: 2. **rettulerunt:** cf. I: 1.

in sortem coici: cf. I: 8.

4. **nihilo minus,** etc. In XL: 9 ff. it appears that the actual decision was that one consul should have Italy, *i.e.,* Etruria, the other a fleet for service if needed in Africa, not however any authority on land in Africa. The definition of *Africa evenit* by the *ut* clause following possibly indicates that even here Livy was conscious of some limitation. The construction of the *ut* clause (as of those which follow) is rather loose, depending on the idea of a decree behind *evenit, est sortitus,* etc.

9. **reliquis:** the rest of the ships in Sicily: cf. II: 2.

urbana: the affairs falling to the *praetor urbanus* who served as judge in Rome. cf. I: 9.

ceteris: cf. I: 9 and 10.

10. **sedecim non amplius:** A. & G. 407. c. HB 416.d.

11. **quos ludos . . . ut eos ludos:** the stiff language of an official decree. The introductory verb is omitted: presumably *senatus decrevit* is understood. Marcellus and Quinctius were consuls in 208 B.C. Both died in office, leaving the dictator Manlius to carry out the vows made by M. Aemilius five years before, which Manlius then renewed.

SENTIMENT IN ROME AND CARTHAGE

XXVIII: 1. **certum constare:** "be definitely decided."

2. **cuius . . . vatem:** "the prophet of this great difficulty." With *vatem,* **canere** is used to keep up the figure. Translate: "foretold."

3. **Statorius:** the centurion sent from Spain to help Syphax.

cf. XI: 4. **semilixa** is evidently a colloquial army term: "a half-baked sutler."

fugacissimo: hardly just, though he had been beaten twice by Scipio.

5. **vincendo**: equivalent to *vincens* but actually a modal ablative.

stipendiis: "years of service:" originally, "the year's pay."

6. **muralibus vallaribusque**: the crowns awarded respectively to those first scaling an enemy town-wall or rampart.

7. **ipsi**: *i.e.*, Scipio and Hannibal; the general remark is explained by the *quod . . . erexerant* clause.

8. **velut comparati**: "as if matched."

9. **quo magis**, etc.: "the more eager they were for a victory in the near future."

HANNIBAL IN AFRICA

XXIX: 1. **Hadrumetum**: northward along the coast from where he landed. *Zama* is inland about equidistant from Hadrumetum and Carthage.

adferentium: substantive: "from the terrified messages of those who reported." Livy assumes the license of a story teller by foreshortening the time. Hannibal was in Africa, as a matter of fact, for nearly a year before the final conflict.

2. **excepti**: "captured."

3. **satin**: abbreviated form of *satisne*.

per commodum=*commode*. Cf. *de industria*, IV: 3.

4. **nihil quidem**: emphasis to contrast with *maxime* ff. One would expect a correlative *tamen* after *maxime* if the contrast were not so clear.

adferebant: the subject is *speculatores*, understood.

profecto: "surely."

7. **Valerius Antias**: subject of *tradit* four lines below. For the name, cf. III: 6.

8. **ceterum**: "but" (whether *sua sponte* or *publico consilio*), "at any rate."

ex composito: "by agreement."

9. **aquatio** ff: *i.e.*, the water supply was within the range of the Roman weapons.

10. **a quattuor milibus**: A. & G. 433.3.

XXX: 3. **datum erat**: "had been determined [from the beginning]."

bellum: of course, this particular war.

4. **fuerit** (and in § 5, *ediderit*): A. & G. 447.3.

8. **sed et ff.**: the construction breaks away from the *ut* and becomes direct statement at this point.

9. **quod**: object of both *abominaremur* and *optaretis*.

in meliore vestra fortuna: "with your fortune on the rise."

agimus: *i.e.*, "you and I."

11. **malim**: A. & G. 442.b.

utraque: cf. VIII: 7 for the use of the plural; the neuter rather generalizes: "both of them more high spirited qualities than."

temere: "readily," "easily."

13. **patris et patrui**: both killed in Spain, 211 B.C.

15. **novi**: "I understand."

16. **quodsi**: *quod* is, in origin, an accusative of specification, summing up what has preceded. If what follows results from the summary the *quod* is equivalent to "wherefore;" if what follows is in contrast with the summary, it is equivalent to "but." There is not always a perfectly sharp distinction. Here the adversative idea prevails.

17. **quibus . . . deprecantem**: "trying by my appeals to avert from my own country those evils with which I frightened your city."

18. **credendum**: "to be trusted."

19. **ne . . . dederis**: A. & G. 450.

20. **Martemque belli communem**: a familiar figure in Cicero and Livy but a bit surprising in the mouth of Hannibal. *Martem* in this phrase means "the outcome of the war."

22. **in pace iungenda**: the one possibility to which *tunc* ff. presents the alternative, namely, carrying on the war.

23. **M. Atilius Regulus** was one of the greatest heroes of Roman history, captured and finally executed by the Carthaginians in the First Punic War. Read the story in Horace, Odes, III: 5.

efferentem se: the figure is that of a rearing horse: but translate, "soaring."

24. **eius**: possessive genitive, like *potestatis* above.

simus: A. & G. 447. 3.a.

multam: "punishment;" usually means "a fine."

26. **externa**: "foreign lands."

27. **sincere**: "honorably," "ingenuously."

Punicam fidem: another Roman conception hardly in character for Hannibal.

28. **non nihil etiam ob hoc**: "to some extent at least on this ground."

30. **quoad**: "until."

XXXI: 3. **praemia:** in apposition with *ea,* understood with *quae.*

4. **condicio:** general term for the agreement comprising the *condiciones* already referred to.

priores: translate, "in days of old."

Mamertinorum: the mercenaries who seized Messana in 289 B.C. It was nominally as their allies that Rome undertook the First Punic War, but this was only a pretext. The same is partially true of the Saguntine outrage as the cause of the Second Punic War. (See Introduction.)

5. **secundum:** preposition.

7. **quem ad modum:** correlative with *sic* in § 8.

8. **prope manu conserta:** "with battle lines almost joined."

9. **verecundia:** "sense of shame," "scruple."

ad ea: "to those conditions."

quasi multa: "in the way of an indemnity." The genitive expressing that for which the indemnity is paid is an unusual usage.

est quod referam: literally: "there is [reason] that I refer;" translate: "I must refer."

THE BATTLE OF ZAMA

XXXII: 2. **victores:** sc. *futuri:* "for they would be victors."

5. **anceps:** should really go with *animos.*

6. **occidione occisos:** "massacred."

8. **ad hoc:** "in addition."

9. **fingenti:** "for one who would invent."

ad Aegatis insulas: the final battle of the First Punic War was fought off the Aegatian Islands.

11. **celsus corpore:** may be a general characterization of Scipio but probably means "erect."

XXXIII: Livy is not an expert in military affairs and those who are find his accounts inaccurate. But the idea is clear: lanes were left open straight through all three lines.

2. **cuius:** possessive genitive after *opera;* with it both *legati* and *quaestoris* are in apposition. *ante* is an adverb.

extra sortem: he did not draw for his assignment along with the other quaestors but was sent by decree of the senate, probably at the request of Scipio.

3. **manipulos antesignanorum:** probably the front line, the *hastati* with their standards fixed in the ground behind them.

tunc: the *velites* or skirmishing troops were regularly so used; Livy seems to imply that they were something unusual or new.

4. **ancipitia tela**: "weapons from both sides."

5. **Baliaribus**: troops from the Balearic Islands, mostly slingers. The *Mauri* came from Mauritania in North Africa opposite Spain. The Macedonians were the troops sent by Philip to help the Carthaginians.

6. **Italicorum**: The Ligurians and probably the Gauls were also Italians but outside the Roman power. These Bruttians and others were from Roman Italy.

9. **deductis**: agrees with *Liguribus:* "drawn as they were."

10. **impotenti**: "uncontrolled."

futuro: *i.e.*, in case of a Roman victory.

terret: for variety, the construction changes: Hannibal is the subject.

11. **ostentatur**: the singular, probably also for the sake of variety, agreeing with the last subject.

12. **cum maxime**: "just when."

13. **sinistrum cornu**: in apposition to *suos*, as are also *Mauros* and *Numidas*. Cf. the same usage in § 16 below.

14. **suis**: *i.e.*, received as they went.

15. **ancipites ad ictum**: "exposed to blows on both sides."

XXXIV: 1. **ad hoc**: cf. **XXXII**: 7. Here, however, there is no verb in the clause that follows. This does not affect the *ad hoc*. The clauses without verbs are intended to present vividly the details of the confusing scene.

momenta: "influences," "circumstances."

ut: this is the adverbial *ut* with a verb (such as *fit*) understood. Translate: "as was natural."

2. **incumbentium**: agrees with *Romanorum* assumed from *pugna Romana*.

illinc: "from that fact."

3. **ala et umbone**: "with shoulder and shield."

gradu inlato: *gradum inferre* means to advance or attack. Translate: "attacking those who were dislodged, they advanced," etc.

5. **auxiliares**: "in the front rank." Cf. **XXXIII**: 5. In construction *auxiliares* is the object of *sustinebant*.

resistentes: equivalent to a condition: "if the first ranks resisted stubbornly."

6. **ut**: adverbial with *adiuti* and *exclusi*. The most natural English is perhaps: "because they had," etc.

9. **miscerent**: "contaminate."

10. **principum**: "of the second line;" cf. **XXXII**: 11.

11. **cernendo**: a modal ablative, equivalent to *cernentes:* "as they saw." The construction is not exact for the actual subject

is *signa* while the sense of *cernendo* would, to be precise, require *principes* as subject of the sentence.

receptui: dative of purpose. Translate: "sound retreat."

12. **quippe**: as usual introduces an explanation, but in this instance an explanation of more definite fact than usual.

XXXV: 1. **in tempore**: "in the nick of time."

4. **ante aciem**: "before the battle-line was formed." An unusual use, but Livy really wants a synonym for *proelium*.

6. **elephantos**: this and the other accusatives following, *auxiliares* (§ 7), *milites* (§ 9), and *Italicos* (§ 9), are in apposition with *aciem*, object of *instruxisse*.

8. **nihil aliud**: elliptical, exactly like the English, "if nothing else."

9. **quoque**: *i.e.*, in addition to being in the rear rank.

10. **sexto et tricesimo**: he was only nine years old when his father took him to Spain in 238 B.C.

SETTLEMENT OF PEACE

XXXVI: 1. **confestim a proelio**: "directly after the battle."

2. **P. Lentulum**: cf. **XXIV**: 5. He seems to have picked up thirty additional *rostrati*.

3. **Cn. Octavium**: cf. **XXIV**: 6 ff. He had probably been serving, since his disaster, with the land forces.

suam veterem: sc. *classem*.

4. **velata infulis**: "wreathed with fillets:" symbols of supplication.

8. **Saturnalibus primis**: "on the first day of the Saturnalia."

10. **expectatio**: the new year was approaching. From **XL**: 7 it is clear that he need not have worried.

XXXVII: 1. **esse**: "do exist."

4. **res redderent**: "make restitution."

5. **auxiliis**: "Rome's auxiliary troops."

6. **minores, maiores**: sc. *natu*, or *aetate*.

7. **Gisgo**: otherwise unknown: the name was not an uncommon one at Carthage.

11. **comparebat**: "was at hand" (literally, "was visible").

12. **qui arguerentur**: "who might be charged," *i.e.*, with having what had been taken from the ships. The subjunctive indicates that the charges were not actually made but are thought of as possible.

utique: "at least."

XXXVIII: 1. **quae publica** ff.: there would hardly be time to refer to public accounts at home although it may be that time was taken to refer to the quaestors there; possibly the quaestor in Sicily is meant and the plural used carelessly: it seems probable that representatives of the quaestor with the fleet are the ones to declare the public property.

2. **domini:** "the owners."

praesentia: "cash down."

5. **ut pro vectura** ff.: "that the trader gave over his grain to the ship captains in payment of the freight." The meaning is that the grain merchants could not get enough for their stuff to pay for marketing it and so gave it to the captains in lieu of payment for transportation.

AFFAIRS AT ROME

6. **rebellionis:** the violation of the truce and the renewed fighting.

8. **censuerant:** Cf. **XXIII:** 3. Whether this was a motion or a vote, it seems to have antagonized Claudius.

pluit lapideo imbri: "there was a shower of stones."

9. **circa:** adverbial: "around it."

de caelo tacta: "were struck by lightning."

10. **in religionem versa:** "was taken as an omen."

Erycinae Veneris: No temple to the Venus of Eryx is known to have stood outside the Colline Gate (on the Quirinal Hill) until a later time. Livy must be simply locating the spot for the readers of his own time.

11. **pompa:** the procession at the opening of the games.

XXXIX: 1. **tandem:** cf. *segniter,* **XXXVIII:** 7. His policy of delay is the only evident explanation of his course: *portus Loretanus* is unknown but *portus Cosanus* is on the coast of Etruria, far north of Rome. *Populonium* is still further north, opposite the island of Ilva.

2. **superantem Insanos montes:** "as he was rounding the Mad Mountains," a range that came down to the west coast of Sardinia. *Carales* is on the south coast.

3. **circumactumque anni tempus:** "the year of office expired"; *i.e.,* March 15th, the (official) new year came around, but as the calendar was considerably out of gear this date actually fell in the midwinter season, in what should have been January.

nullo prorogante: meaning that the senate had not extended his authority.

4. **dictatore dicto:** he was the last constitutional dictator.

5. **tempestates prohibuerunt**: thunder-storms put an end to elections by religious law.

sine curulibus magistratibus: except the Dictator and his Master of the Horse.

7. **viatores**: "summoners;" they and the scribes were subordinates of the aediles.

per indicem comperti: "detected by an informer."

8. **vitio**: with some technical error in the election, which was only disclosed later after they had performed some of their duties.

epulum Iovi: a ceremonial banquet of the Senate on the Capitol attended by the images of the Capitoline gods.

Cerialia ludos: syntactically *ludos* is in apposition to *Cerialia; ludos Ceriales* would be more regular, "games in honor of Ceres." As the games to Ceres came in April and the plebeian games, at which the *epulum Iovis* occurred, not until November, and as the dictator was appointed at the end of the year, Livy seems to be a little confused.

XL: 4. **gratulationi**: "for thanksgiving."

5. **praetores** ff.: this clause starts as though *creati* were continued, but with the introduction of the *cui* clause a new construction begins.

8. **certamen**: "rivalry."

9. **priore anno**: cf. **XXVII**: 2 ff.

Cornelium: instead of Lentulum for sake of variety.

11. **ad populum**: "before the people," = "in the popular assembly."

12. **convenerat**: impersonal: "it had been agreed." The senate took specific oath only when it was so stipulated by the assembly.

XLI: 1. **praetoribus** ff.: note the changes in construction. *Valerio* is in apposition to *praetoribus*, but when Livy comes to Aelius he changes his construction to a verb dependent on the idea of ordering. With Fabius comes a second change to direct narrative. At § 4 indirect discourse is resumed.

5. **quindecim cohortes**: the number of auxiliary cohorts attached to a legion was not fixed but the total of men could not exceed the number of legionary soldiers.

6. **consuli**: *i.e.*, to the consul who should be sent to Africa.

tuebatur: indicative as being a fact inserted by Livy, not included in the provision of the decree.

7. **Octavium**: it would seem that he had been put in command of Scipio's fifty ships in addition to his own thirty.

THE MACEDONIAN EMBASSY

XLII: 2. **purgantium:** sc. *ea:* "justifying those matters."

missi: cf. **XXVI:** 4.

quidem: correlative with *sed:* "they did also accuse the allies but much more bitterly Aurelius."

3. **ad se:** *i.e.,* to Philip; cf. *suis* below.

substitisse: from *subsisto:* had stayed behind. The construction assumes a verb of saying assumed from *accusantium.*

contra foedus: cf. Roman claim in **XXVI:** 2.

5. **relictum:** "had been left;" *i.e.,* had not stayed on his own authority as the ambassadors implied.

vi atque iniuria: ablative of cause.

6. **purpuratis:** *i.e.,* the court.

7. **perplexe:** "ambiguously."

10. **e re publica:** "in the interest of the state."

THE CARTHAGINIAN EMBASSY

11. **tum:** "in addition."

dicere: narrative infinitive: "each one said for himself." The sense is that in addition to the impression made by their age and prestige, each one gave his word that he was treating honestly for peace.

13. **eo:** "on this account."

14. **cum . . . esset:** the construction may be saved by taking *ceterorum* (§ 18) as the beginning of the main clause. It seems more probable that Livy having slipped into indirect discourse after *monendo,* beginning with § 15, forgot to pick up the *cum* clause.

monendo etiam: go together: "by actually warning."

15. **tempore:** "the opportune moment:" probably after Cannae.

tunc: it would be more usual to have *nunc.* Livy speaks from the point of view of his own time.

16. **eo:** correlative with *quod.*

17. **faceret:** imperfect to mark a general characteristic.

ex insolentia: begins a general statement of which the subject is *eos,* the assumed antecedent of *quibus* with *impotentes* in apposition.

impotentes laetitiae: "uncontrolled in joy."

19. **ita:** looks forward, correlative with *si:* "only on condition that."

20. **per quos deos:** *i.e.,* calling upon what gods to sanction it.

foedus icturi: "make a treaty."

21. **tam infesti**: *i.e.*, as they had shown themselves toward the Carthaginians or, as Hasdrubal would have said, toward the Barcine party.

CONCLUSION OF THE PEACE

XLIII: 1. **cui classis provincia erat**: in **XLI**: 6 this was left undecided but it was to be expected from what was said in **XL**: 8.

senatus consulto intercessit: the consul could interpose his veto and so prevent his colleague in office from putting the question. He had no veto against the tribunes, who could present the matter to the people, who could in turn order the senate to make peace.

2. **vellent iuberent**: old legal wording without conjunction. *uti rogas* is also quoted from the official formula and means "as you ask" or more freely "as presented."

quem . . . iuberent: as already provided, cf. **XL**: 14.

4. **ex**: "in accordance with."

decem legatorum: though not named here, these were presumably appointed at the same time by the Senate. As they are not specified by name, and as this was the most important possible embassy, it may be that Livy means the *decem principes*, the ten ranking senators.

5. **publica custodia**: "under official custody," as contrasted with *libera custodia*, confinement in their own houses.

8. **legati**: presumably the ten sent from Rome, not the three sent by Scipio (**XXXVIII**: 5).

9. **fetiales**: one of the most ancient colleges of priests at Rome. Their function was to "guard the public faith toward outside peoples." To perform this duty they presided with due formality over declarations of war and conclusions of peace treaties. Their number is doubtful but Varro gives it as twenty. Probably a committee only of the fetials went to Carthage.

ipsis postulantibus: probably a part of the old ritual.

privos: "one each," the earliest meaning of the word.

silices, etc.: the flint stones, ceremonial boughs, and sacred herbs were all part of the traditional rites. The word praetor seems to appear in the formula because it was once the general name for the highest Roman official: here it means the highest official in power on the spot, namely, Scipio.

12. **iussit**: *i.e.*, Scipio.

fuisse: still dependent on *tradunt*.

13. **de perfugis**, etc.: the deserters were considered worse than runaway slaves, who were regularly branded, and the Roman

deserters worse than those of the allies. Beheading was less dishonorable than crucifying, soldiers being normally exempt from the latter.

XLIV: 1. **postremo facta erat:** "had at last been made."

3. **cupiditatem:** "jealousy [of Scipio]."
fuisse in mora: "hindered," "prevented."
exitio: ablative of means, but in English we should say, "end with the destruction of Carthage."

FINAL SCENES IN AFRICA AND ROME

4. **exhaustis:** "to men exhausted."
5. **in:** "in the midst of."
6. **laeti:** agrees with *cordis* as does also *amentis.*
7. **abhorrentes:** "unsuitable," "untimely."
interdictum: translate: "the ban put upon."
otio vestro consultum: "any thought was given to your [future] peace," *i.e.,* in the conditions laid down; it was not to assure peace to Carthage that they crippled her for war.

8. **ut praevalida corpora:** a somewhat superstitious belief from the medical point of view. Granted the premise, the application is clear but not exact for Carthage can hardly be called *praevalida* at the moment.

9. **nimirum:** "truly," said with much bitterness.
damnum: "loss."

11. **ex privato:** "from individual subscription."
in publico funere: "at the funeral of the State."
levissimo in malo: "at the least of your troubles."

12. **ad:** "in addition to."

XLV: 2. **ad habendos honores:** "to pay official honors."

3. **quadringenos aeris:** "four hundred asses each;" the *as* had by this time been twice drastically reduced in value. It is almost impossible to compare values but this donation would amount roughly to six dollars apiece with a much larger buying power than that amount would indicate.

4. **subtractus:** denied to the curious gaze of men rather than to the glory of Scipio, who, it is implied, had sufficient glory as it was: Syphax could hardly have added to it.
Tiburi: modern Tivoli.

5. **Polybius:** See Introduction. Polybius, a Greek exile in Rome from 167 B.C. till 151 B.C., was the greatest of Livy's sources for the period from 220-146 B.C.
pilleo: a "liberty cap" which manumitted slaves put on

to celebrate their freedom. Culleo looked upon Scipio as having personally set him free: cf. **XLIII**: 11.

6. **militaris** ff.: "the devotion of the soldiers or the favor of the populace first made general."

memoria: "within the memory."

adsentatione familiari: "the flattery of his friends."

7. **parum compertum habeo**: in such phrases lies the beginning of modern conjugations with the auxiliary verb. Translate: "I have not discovered."

certe: "at any rate."

insignes . . . titulos: "honorable titles." These would be inscribed under their effigies (*imagines*) in the family *atrium* after they had died, but they would have become *cognomina* first.

BOOK XXXI

IMMENSITY OF THE HISTORIAN'S TASK

I: 1. The first paragraph is an introduction to the fourth decade of Livy's history and furnishes a transition from the Punic War, the chief subject of the third decade, to the Greek War, the chief subject of the fourth.

me quoque: as well as those actually engaged in the war.

velut: equivalent to *velut si*.

finem belli Punici: the subject of the third decade just finished, the Second Punic War.

2. **ausum**: probably agrees with *me* understood, but it may be taken as a substantive, making the statement a general one.

res: "history."

3. **a primo Punico**: *i.e.*, from the beginning of that war, 264 B.C., but, according to Livy, 267 B.C., for Livy's chronology is three years behind that of the Fasti because of his omission of certain years in which there were dictators.

4. **aeque . . . quam**: equivalent to *aeque . . . ac;* due to analogy to the use of *quam* with comparatives; for the form *occupasse* see A. & G. 181.a.

a condita urbe: A. & G. 497. Cf. *ad secundum bellum finitum* above, and *ad Ap. Claudium consulem* below, and cf. the title of the whole history, *Ab urbe condita libri.* The traditional date of the founding of the city was 754 B.C. 753

Ap. Claudium: *i.e.*, Appius Claudius Caudex, consul 264 B.C., who led the Roman fleet to Sicily.

5. **iam**: beginning the conclusion to the *cum* clause; means "already."

quidquid: accusative of measure: "each bit that I advance."

paene: with *crescere.*

prima quaeque: "each of the early steps."

videbatur: *i.e.*, as he was writing each part.

SUMMARY OF THE GREEK SITUATION

6. **pacem Punicam**: the transition to a new subject is made by a repetition of the subject that is being left: *bellum Macedonicum* is the subject of the following books.

excepit: "followed close upon."

periculo haudquaquam: the emphatic position of the *periculo* and the strong and prominent negative imply a contrast to follow. There is no need therefore of a *sed* with *claritate* to mark this contrast.

7. **regum antiquorum**: Philip II and Alexander the Great.

magnitudine imperii: the empire of Alexander.

obtinuerant: the subject may be either *reges* or the collective *gens*.

multa Europae: Cf. **XXIII**: 4: *infrequentissima urbis* and XXXII, **IX**: 7: *proxima Epiri*.

8. **ceterum**: *i.e.*, although it did follow the Punic War.

Philippum: Philip V of Macedon, born in 237 B.C., and only seventeen years old at the time of his accession.

decem ferme ante annis: 211 B.C., when the Aetolians allied themselves with Rome.

Aetoli: one of the two great leagues of Greek cities that attained prominence after the death of Alexander. See Introduction.

9. **vacuos**: *i.e.*, from war.

Romanos: object of *excitaverunt*.

10. **tum ob auxilia**, etc.: although Polybius and Appian do not mention these troops, Livy tells of their appearance in battle and of the senate's treatment of their case. (XXX, **XXXIII**: 5 and XXX, **XLII**: 4 ff.) In 216 B.C. the Romans had captured ambassadors from Philip to Hannibal with documents showing a plan of coöperation. Further grievances against Philip would seem unnecessary, but the Roman policy was to appear as the benefactor and protector of Greece.

Atheniensium: allies of Rome.

II: 1. **Attalo**: Attalus I, the first of the Pergamene rulers to repel the Gauls, had shown his friendship toward Rome in 205 B.C. by helping them to obtain the black stone of Pessinus, supposed to represent the Mater Idaea. He had shortly after sided with the Rhodians against Philip who proceeded to invade his territory.

Rhodiis: the Republic of Rhodes had already intervened in 208 B.C. with Egypt and Athens to establish the peace of Greece.

2. **quoque**: *i.e.*, as well as in Greece.

consules: P. Aelius was in Gaul, Cn. Octavius in Sicily with the fleet.

3. **provinciis**: not provinces, but the fields of action assigned to the consuls. Cf. **XXX, I**: 2.

reiecta: "postponed."

Ptolomaeum: Ptolemy V, Epiphanes. He was only four years old at the time of his accession in 205 B.C., so the government was really in the hands of his ministers.

4. **finitimi etiam socii**: *i.e.*, the Italian allies.

in fide mansisset: it was rather his predecessor that had been faithful to Rome.

REVERSE IN GAUL

5. **Gallia**: Cis-Alpine Gaul had caused great trouble at the beginning of the Second Punic War and was now once more in revolt. The Boii lived in the south-eastern part of Cis-Alpine Gaul, south of the Po and just north of Umbria.

6. **sociorum**: probably Cremona and Placentia.

subitariis: "emergency troops, hastily enrolled."

tumultus: "uprising of a disordered sort."

scriptis: "enrolled."

cohortibus: the regular unit of the auxiliary forces, which were never organized into legions.

tumultuaria: troops quickly gathered to meet a sudden uprising, implying a lack of discipline; cf. *subitariis*, above.

Umbriam: a district of Italy, lying east of Etruria, extending to the Adriatic coast, where it reached from Picenum to Cis-Alpine Gaul. The great Flaminian Way ran through Umbria across the Apennines to the coast; from there the Aemilian Way ran north-west into the heart of Gaul.

aperto itinere: probably an ablative absolute in contrast with *per montes:* "since the road was open though over the mountains."

7. **ad castrum Mutilum**: "near the fortress of Mutilum;" an outpost in Gaul, south of the Po; later on became a small city.

8. **circa**: used substantively, for "the district round about."

9. **ad**: denotes approximation: "about."

10. **saltus**: "ravines," or "passes."

11. **Ingaunis**: Ligurians living just west of modern Genoa.

foedus icit: "made a treaty."

SENATE PROCEEDINGS AND ELECTIONS AT ROME

III: 1. **senatum habuit**: "held a meeting of the senate:" this was regularly called by a consul as presiding officer.

universis postulantibus: the active participle in the ablative absolute is common in Livy.

relatum: "was put before them for a vote."

2. **cum imperio**: *i.e.*, "with the power of command," even

if the man sent were not a regular official: see **XXXI**: 18, and XXXII, **XVI**: 2. *Imperium* was the power of the state vested in its higher magistrates. It was absolute outside the city; within, it was limited by the right of appeal, etc.

classe: *i.e.*, the fleet that had been operating against Carthage.

Cn. Octavius: he had served under Scipio in Africa.

in Macedoniam: used carelessly for northern Greece.

3. **traiceret**: used absolutely: "to cross over."

propraetor: "invested with the power of praetor."

transmisit: like *traiceret*, used intransitively.

M. Valerius Laevinus: had been twice consul and had held command in Greece; now a private citizen.

Vibonem: *i.e.*, Vibo Valentia, in Bruttium, about fifty miles north of Rhegium.

4. **M. Aurelius**: sent with two others on an embassy to Philip in 203 B.C., to protest against Macedonian help given to Carthage, he had remained at the head of an army to keep the states that were friendly to Rome from weakening in the face of depredations by Philip. (XXX, **XLII**: 2).

5. **rex**: *i.e.*, Philip.

continentis: "the continent," or "mainland:" used substantively; probably *terra* was originally understood with the adjective.

6. **Pyrrhus**: the famous King of Epirus who invaded Italy in 278 B.C.

haec scribere, etc.: the main clause; all the rest of the sentence has been comprised in the *cum* clause.

placuit: sc. *Valerio*.

IV: 1. **huius anni**: *i.e.*, 201 B.C.

de agris, etc.: land assigned, out of territory held by the state, to soldiers who had served their full time or more.

2. **praetor urbanus**: This was the original title of the single praetor. He was confined to service in the city where he acted as judge and administrator, practically a colleague of the consuls. When the number of praetors was increased, one of them retained this title and acted as judge in civil cases between citizens only.

decemviros: a committee of ten; the purpose of the committee is regularly expressed in the gerundive construction, either by the dative or by the accusative with *ad*.

Samniti Apuloque: land taken from these Italian peoples in war.

4. **comitia**: the *comitia centuriata*, meeting for the election of the higher magistrates and presided over by a consul.

5. **ludi Romani scaenici**: these games originated in the payment of vows by successful consuls; this regularly took place in September. Eventually the *Ludi Romani* occupied the time from the fifth to the nineteenth.

biduum: adverbial: "for two days:" *i.e.*, two days' celebrations out of the whole period.

6. **instauratum**: "repeated:" any technical error in performing the ceremonies caused a repetition of all or part of them. Cf. XXX, **XXVI**: 11.

quaternis aeris: "at four asses a measure:" the *modius* was about a peck.

7. **plebeii ludi**: games in the Circus Flaminius, originally on the Ides of November only, later from the fourth to the seventeenth.

ter toti: "three times throughout." Cf. XXX, **XXVI**: 11.

Iovis epulum: a feast held in the Capitoline temple at which the statues of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva were present and of which the magistrates and senate partook. It occurred regularly on the thirteenth of November in connection with the *Ludi Plebeii*. Cf. XXX, **XXXIX**: 8 and XXXII, **VII**: 13.

QUESTION OF WAR WITH MACEDONIA

V: 1. **anno quingentesimo**, etc.: this, the regular method of Roman dating, indicates 203 B.C. Livy is three years behind the Fasti in his chronology: cf. **I**: 3, note.

2. **primum**: adverbial.

idibus Martiis: originally the Roman year began with March. In Livy's own day the consuls went into office on the first of January.

3. **maioribus hostiis**: *i.e.*, full-grown victims as contrasted with *lactentes*. Cf. XXX, **II**: 13.

rem divinam: "sacrifice," including the inspection of the entrails.

4. **secundum**: preposition, retaining the original sense of the root: "following."

5. **litterae**: cf. **III**: 6.

nova legatio: Cf. **I**: 10.

6. **regem**: Philip: cf. **III**: 4.

7. **haruspices**: the diviners who inspected the entrails to foretell the future.

8. **senatus consultum**: an advisory vote, not a binding law until ratified by the people, although the term remained in use in later times for the decrees of the senate after that body became really legislative.

sociis: the Athenians: cf. I: 10.

9. **sortiti:** the consuls elect drew lots for their fields of military action.

tulisset: equivalent to *retulisset*.

VI: 1. **rogationem:** a proposition put to the centuriate assembly.

vellent iuberent: indirect quotation of the old legal formula. The familiarity of Livy's readers with the phrase makes the subjunctives sufficient mark of the relation between clauses.

2. **praetores:** originally there was but one praetor, then two, both judicial in their functions: in 227 B.C. two more were created to take care of the newly acquired provinces.

3. **omnibus centuriis:** the vote was by centuries, the antiquated division of the people made by the Servian constitution.

antiquata est: the regular term for voting down a *rogatio*.

4. **incusaverat:** *incuso* may take an accusative of the person or of the thing or an infinitive with subject accusative, forming a natural substantive, as here.

seri: "to be stirred up."

5. **passi, laceratus:** the auxiliary verb is understood in each case.

hortari: historical infinitive.

de integro: "anew;" such adverbial phrases are common in Livy: cf. *ex improviso,* XXVI: 3; *de industria,* XXXII, XXXV: 4.

SPEECH OF SULPICIUS

VII: 1. **campo Martio:** the regular meeting place of the *comitia centuriata*.

centurias in suffragium mitteret: this phrase has reference to the method of voting. All the voters were sent into a large enclosure with a section for each century and the votes counted as they passed out.

3. **Punico proximo bello:** *i.e.*, the second or Hannibalic (218-202 B.C.). The immediate cause of that war, according to Livy's account, was the attack of the Carthaginians on Saguntum, a Spanish city allied with Rome. Rome, however, did not act promptly enough to save Saguntum.

Mamertinis: this refers to the First Punic War (264-242 B.C.) which had its origin in the help given by Rome to the Campanian mercenaries in Messana. Cf. XXX, XXXI: 4.

summa clade nostra: *i.e.*, the series of defeats culminating in Cannae and the wasting of the country that marked Hannibal's stay in Italy.

4. **pactum**: in 215 B.C. the Romans had captured an embassy sent by Philip to promise Hannibal two hundred ships for service in Italy if he would engage to help Philip later on in Greece.

6. **patiamur**: hortatory subjunctive: but the fact that the exhortation expressed is clearly contrary to the speaker's wish, shows it to be hypothetical, and marks it as the equivalent of a conditional clause. This is then confirmed by the use of the future tense below (*pervenient*) expressing the result.

expugnandis Athenis: to be taken with *experire* below.

7. **quinto mense**: the time of Hannibal's long march from New Carthage in Spain over the Alps to Italy, as recounted by Livy in Book XXI.

Corintho: the natural sailing place if he started from Athens, for he would then come by the Gulf of Corinth and avoid sailing round the Peloponnese.

8. **ne aequaveritis**: another hypothetical exhortation similar to that in *patiamur* above but, with the negative, the effect becomes concessive.

9. **Epirus**: the kingdom of Pyrrhus was not, as a matter of fact, subject to Macedonia: it was only nominally allied with Philip.

Peloponnesum totam, etc.: this is not altogether true. Sparta was independent and the larger part of the Peloponnese was included in the Achaean League which was nominally allied with Philip, but really inclined toward Rome or at least toward a waiting policy.

Argos: the town in which Pyrrhus was killed in a street fight in 272 B.C. It was not subject to Philip but rather pro-Roman. It is introduced by Sulpicius for rhetorical effect, because of Pyrrhus' death there.

10. **prope ad ipsam urbem**: Pyrrhus had penetrated into the Hernican country but had never seriously threatened Rome.

11. **ut . . . crederes**: deduction from the name Magna Graecia: "so that you would believe that they followed a man of the same speech and name."

secutos: *sc. eos secutos esse.*

Lucanus: collective, as are also *Bruttius* and *Samnis*.

12. **manserunt enim**: ironical.

15. **sociis ac nomini Latino**: the distinction is between states allied with Rome and colonies planted by Rome without complete citizen rights.

portendere: equivalent to *portenderunt*: this alternative form is not uncommon in Livy.

DECLARATION OF WAR. PREPARATIONS

VIII: 1. **In suffragium missi:** cf. **VII:** 1.

uti rogaret: *sc. Sulpicius;* this phrase is an echo of the words *uti rogas,* the formula for an affirmative vote and, in Livy's day, represented on the affirmative ballots by the letters U R; literally: "as you ask," "as you put the question."

3. **fetiales:** a college of twenty priests in specific charge of the declarations of war. Cf. **XXX, XLIII:** 9.

praesidium: transferred from the main clause.

4. **iis:** *i.e.,* those fetials who were not members of the senate.

5. **exercitibus:** the armies to be used by the consuls and the praetors in their year's operations.

actum: *i.e.,* by the senate.

scribere: "to enroll."

7. **Latini nominis:** cf. **VII:** 15, note; these colonists with Latin rights were bound to furnish troops.

consules darent: according to Roman law, a levy of troops must be made by a consul or, if that were impossible, by an officer invested with consular power.

8. **ipse,** etc.: note that this is not levying: he is merely retaining troops. Originally new levies were made each year and a man might be required to serve as many as twenty years, though this was exceptional.

ut: "according as:" the subjunctive is due solely to the fact that the clause is a subordinate one in indirect discourse.

stipendia: "campaigns" (regularly considered as lasting a year apiece); originally the word meant money payed out for anything at all, then especially for military service.

haberet: "had to his credit," "had served."

effecisset: "had reached the number of."

10. **prorogatum:** his power is continued though his year of office is ended.

traiceret: cf. **III:** 2.

11. **urbanas:** "reserves in the city;" this was a regular thing, but in this case there is more likelihood of their use.

si quo: the *quo* is indefinite: the phrase is equivalent to *ubicumque.*

sex legionibus: the ones just mentioned: **XLIX:** 7 indicates troops in Spain during this same year.

IX: 1. **Ptolomaeo:** cf. **II:** 3, note. Egypt was at this time suffering from the attempts of Antiochus and Philip to take advantage of the king's minority. Very probably the Roman embassy had already reached Egypt and this offer is to show friend-

ship and to avoid any friction with Rome. The policy of the Ptolemies was always to avoid as far as possible all outside entanglements.

Athenienses: they were independent of the two federations.

2. **communes**: *i.e.*, allies both of Egypt and of Rome.

4. **responsum**: *sc. est.*

qua: indefinite pronoun.

5. **quinum milium aeris**: *aes* refers to the bronze *as*, the unit of value by virtue of being the original coin, once a Roman pound in weight but rapidly depreciating. In value it was very roughly worth about a cent and a half. *Aeris* is genitive of material after *quinum milium* (with the substantive understood) which is in the same construction after *munera*.

missa: given through the quaestor.

6. **vovere**: to vow that these games and the gift would be given in the event of success.

7. **voto**: *i.e.*, to the actual formal making of the vow.

incerta pecunia: "an indefinite amount," not specifically laid aside: the opposite of *certa*.

ea: "such money."

quod nisi: the *quod* refers to the whole procedure, the emphasis in the second clause being on *rite*.

8. **iussus**: *i.e.*, by the senate.

incertae pecuniae: descriptive genitive denoting material.

9. **in eadem verba**: cf. our phrase "on these terms:" the *in* with the accusative signifies the end aimed at by the vow.

10. **quinquennalia**: apparently games vowed under special conditions, to be given after a lapse of five years.

ludi magni: referred to as *ludos Iovi* above: these later developed into regular annual games to Jupiter in September, the *Ludi Romani*.

FURTHER DISTURBANCE IN GAUL

X: 1. **timentibus**: used as a substantive or with *iis* understood; the dative is a dative of reference after the verb *exorta, sc. est;* with *nihil minus* is understood *quam Gallicos tumultus* or the equivalent.

2. **Insubres, Cenomani**: Gallic tribes between the Alps and the Po, their chief cities being modern Milan and Verona respectively.

Boii: cf. II: 5.

Hasdrubal: leader of the Carthaginian army which was defeated by the consuls, Nero and Livius, in 207 B.C. at the

Metaurus River, while Hasdrubal was trying to effect a union with Hannibal in southern Italy.

Placentiam: modern Piacenza, on the southern side of the Po.

3. **Cremonam:** on the northern bank of the Po, but near Placentia: these two towns, lying about thirty miles south-east of Milan, were founded as Latin colonies in 218 B.C.

4. **audita:** although used as an adjective with *clades,* the participle carries the important content of the phrase: "the fact that they heard of the misfortune at Placentia."

colonis: colonists of Latin rights.

tamen: if this reading is correct, *tamen* here approaches the meaning it sometimes has with *si,* "if at least:" here the sense is that they should force a siege even if they could not save themselves outright.

5. **cetero exercitu praeter:** "all the army except."

in proxima, etc.: Ariminum is to be considered as part of the province and *provinciae* is partitive genitive: cf. XXXII, I: 5; *proxima* means nearest to Rome, and *circa Ariminum* is in apposition with *proxima regione.*

6. **Punici belli:** the battle of the Trebia was fought close by Placentia and the Roman troops wintered in Cremona and Placentia after the battle. Hannibal pushed on southward as soon as he was able.

7. **nisi:** not logical: there is irony in it.

velint: *sc. senatores.*

XI: 1. **in Etruriam:** motion is implied in *conveniendum:* translate: "to whom he had named a day for assembling in Etruria."

2. **eadem die:** construe with *iuberet:* "should order them at that time to start for Ariminum;" cf. **XXI:** 1.

3. **in vicem:** "to take their place."

EMBASSIES TO AFRICA

4. **eosdem:** the repetition means no more than *et* would mean.

Numidiam: country to the west and south of Carthage; its king Masinissa, a friend of Rome, had been opposed by Carthage, but by the peace of 201 B.C. was recognized by her.

5. **eorum:** *i.e.,* the Carthaginians.

scire: *sc. se.*

prius, postea: both with *relictum.*

an: introduces the second half of a double question, doing service here for *utrum . . . an.*

Magonis: Mago was ordered from Spain to northern Italy in 206 B.C. and arrived there the following year, achieving practically nothing.

6. **foedus**: the treaty made at the end of the Punic War, 201 B.C.

placeret: *sc. iis, i.e.,* the Carthaginians.

7. **dedendum**: for punishment, since he had violated the treaty.

iussi: *sc. sunt legati.*

8. **recuperasset**: thanks to the Romans who had forced Carthage to recognize him.

Syphacis: the rival king of Numidia, supported Carthage, was captured by Rome, and died in imprisonment; *cf.* XXX, XVII ff.

9. **quod Carthaginienses,** etc.: see Introduction.

10. **serius . . . traiciendi**: "of the delayed crossing into Africa."

12. **ei**: construe with *opus esse.*

indicasset: completed future time.

merito eius: "as he deserved;" literally, construed with *praestaturum, sc. esse.*

13. **Verminae**: when his father was captured in 203 by Masinissa, he succeeded to the power and sent aid to Carthage.

quoque: loose usage, due to the use of *legati* a second time.

per eos dies: § 17 below indicates that this was before the departure of the Roman embassy to Africa.

14. **et Masinissam,** etc.: indirect quotation of what the ambassadors said.

rex, socius, amicus: the regular title of allied, independent kings, bound only to furnish troops on demand.

15. **rudimentum posuisse**: "had laid the foundations."

lacessentem: Rome had been the aggressor.

17. **legatos**: those sent to Carthage and to Masinissa.

leges: "conditions."

eius: *i.e., pacis.*

permittenti: conditional in force: "if he left."

18. **Terentius**: colleague of Aemilius Paulus at Cannae, 216 B.C.

Lucretius: had served in Gaul three years, 205-203.

Octavius: cf. III:3.

quinqueremes: the regular fighting ship of the Roman navy.

DISTURBING THEFTS AND PORTENTS

XII: 1. **Locris**: on the east coast of Bruttium, near the southern extremity of Italy.

Proserpinae thesauris: moneys deposited in the temple of Proserpina, a temple of great sanctity which Pyrrhus had robbed but which had otherwise remained inviolate up to 205 B.C.

2. **Pleminium**: he was put in charge of Locri when it returned to the Roman side and ejected the Carthaginian garrison in 205. He plundered and maltreated the people generally and robbed the temple of Proserpina. On complaint being made to Rome in 204, he was brought to the city, put in prison, and died there in 194.

3. **M. Pomponius**: praetor in 204, assigned to Sicily and given special appointment by the senate to investigate, with a committee of ten and two tribunes, the facts in the case of Pleminius.

4. **triennio**: really four years before: cf. **I**: 8.

5. **prodigia**: such unnatural events are regularly noted by Livy at the end of the year and seem to have been regularly expiated before a new season opened. Cf. XXX, **II**: 9.

sereno: sc. *caelo*, which is sometimes expressed, sometimes omitted by Livy.

6. **iam**: "furthermore."

obsceni: "of ill omen."

8. **abominati**: dreaded because of ill omen.

proxime: seven years before.

9. **nihilo minus**: *i.e.*, even though these precautions were taken in one case.

decemviros: the committee in charge of the Sibylline Books, a collection of prophecies and oracles largely from Erythrae and Cumae, kept in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline and consulted on demand of the senate.

ter novenis: rather than *septem et viginti* because of some supposedly magic value in the numbers three and nine.

10. **carmen**: here a song, but with some suggestion of the inherent meaning of a ritualistic incantation to avert ill.

patrum memoria: within the memory of their fathers. (Cf. XXX, **XLV**: 6.) The expression is careless here as the previous ceremony was in 207 B.C.

Livius: *i.e.*, Livius Andronicus the first Roman poet, who was a Greek, taken prisoner by the Romans at Tarentum. He translated the Odyssey into Latin and wrote plays. He was given

his liberty by Livius, perhaps the M. Livius Salinator of § 8, whose children he had taught.

condidit: "wrote."

QUESTION OF NATIONAL DEBT

XIII: 1. **religionibus**: equivalent to *prodigiis*.

pecunia: money loaned to the state for an indefinite period in the stress of the Hannibalic War in 210 B.C.

2. **mutuam dederant**: "loaned."

tertia pensio: in 204 it was decreed that one third should be paid back at once, a second third two years later, the last third two years after the second.

3. **iis**: dative of agent; the consuls would have charge of the payment as instructed by the senate in 204.

4. **non sustinuit**: "could not withstand:" the gist of their complaint follows.

aliis . . . bellis: "with war succeeding war."

publicatam ff. *pro* is to be understood with *noxia:* confiscated in return for a favor, as if for crime committed.

5. **aere alieno**: "debt;" cf. *pecunia mutua,* above.

6. **utile**: "convenient."

agros volgo venales: "that land was generally on the market;" in other words, that with land cheap, they wanted the money to buy it up.

agri publici: land taken in war or otherwise reverting to the government and not yet assigned.

quinquagesimum lapidem: "the fiftieth milesone," *i.e.,* within fifty miles of Rome.

7. **in iugera asses**: *sc. singulos:* they would exact as rent an *as* per *iugerum* (two-thirds of an acre). The rent is nominal but makes it clear that the land has not passed over finally to the individual.

SITUATION IN GREECE WHEN SULPICIUS ARRIVES

XIV: 1. **secundum**: preposition: "after."

nuncupata: "publically made."

paludatis: "with the military cloaks," *i.e.,* ready for war; contrasted with *togatis*.

2. **discriptis**: "assigned to the legions:" cf. VIII: 6, where this retention of veterans was authorized.

altero die, quam: *alter* is used very regularly by Livy as the ordinal numeral; for the construction, cf. VII: 7.

3. **solvit**: *sc. navem*.

praesto: indeclinable.

longis: regular term for the fighting ship of war as contrasted with the transport.

enim: explaining the smallness of the force sent.

4. **maxime**: "precisely."

Abydum: in Mysia on the coast of the Hellespont at its narrowest part. Its great importance lay in its command of the Dardanelles, the passage to the Black Sea.

Rhodiis et Attalo: cf. II: 1; they had been allied for at least a year to oppose the encroachments of Philip and Antiochus who, in 202, had made an agreement to divide the realm of Ptolemy who died in 205, leaving a child as heir.

6. **autem**: resumptive: "so then."

7. **animos**: "pride."

Acarnanes: the Acarnanian League was loosely allied with Philip.

per: "during."

initiorum: the ceremonies attending admission into the Eleusinian rites.

imprudentes: "knowing nothing of."

10. **iustum**: "regular."

decretis . . . indicendo: "by declaring war on their own part by decree of the state;" this is fully explained by what follows.

11. **cedentem**: *i.e.*, withdrawing from Asia.

Piraeum: the harbor town of Athens opposite which lies the island of Aegina.

societatis: they were allied in 205 when the general peace in Greece was concluded.

12. **obviam**: an adverb used regularly with *eo* and similar verbs of motion and meaning to meet.

COUNCIL AT ATHENS

XV: 1. **vocatus**: *sc. est.*

2. **aut . . . aut**: *erubescere* goes with both the *aut* clauses.

pudorem onerantis: "offending his modesty."

4. **haberent**: *i.e.*, as allies.

6. **habiti**: *sc. sunt*: "were paid."

decem veteres tribus: the Attic tribes dating back to Cleisthenes; but already two or three had been added.

7. **ergo**: equivalent to *causa* or *gratia*.

civitas: citizenship rights in Athens.

8. **insulas**: the Cyclades, part of Philip's plunder from Egypt.

9. **Aeginae**: locative.

missi, etc.: the purpose was to get them to join in the war; they were already allied with Attalus.

10. **utcumque**: "on any terms whatever."

liberatae . . . Graeciae: this was the ostensible purpose of Rome in the whole Greek War and its accomplishment was their boast at its conclusion.

11. **eius gesti perfectique**: cf. *ad secundum bellum finitum* (I: 2) and *ab urbe condita* (I: 4).

ACTIVITIES OF PHILIP. ATTACK ON ABYDUS

XVI: 1. **magis**: *i.e.*, more than Attalus and the Rhodians.

3. **Heraclidi**: a political refugee from Tarentum.

Maroneam: on the Aegean coast of Thrace; still in Egyptian hands.

eodem: *i.e.*, Maronea and the adjacent coast in general.

4. **quidem**: even without a *sed* in the following clause, *quidem* makes clear the relation of contrast.

Aenum: further east than Maronea; these various cities lie between Maronea and Abydus.

5. **Chersonesum**: the Thracian Chersonese, the peninsula opposite the Troad at the outlet of the Hellespont into the Aegean.

6. **eripi potuerunt**: the subject is the people of Abydus.

cessatum: cf. **XV**: 10, 11.

8. **Tenedum**: a small island in the Aegean off the Troad not far south from the entrance to the Hellespont.

eodem: *i.e.*, to Tenedus.

traiecisset: from Piraeus.

XVII: 2. **ruinis**: adverbial: "in ruins."

perventum esset: *sc. a Philippo.*

3. **paciscebantur**: "tried to make the agreement that."

ipsis: *i.e., Abydenis.*

4. **pacati**: genitive of the whole; the participle is used substantively.

renuntiata haec legatio: cf. **XV**: 10, 11; "the report of this embassy."

5. **Saguntinam**: at the beginning of the Hannibalic War the leaders of Saguntum, abandoned by Rome, had destroyed their property and themselves rather than yield to Hannibal.

7. **delecti**: *sc. sunt.*

primum: correlative with *tum* in § 9.

9. **praeeuntibus**: "dictating;" in this sense a transitive verb.

exsecrabile carmen: a formula containing a curse upon

themselves in the event of their failing to keep their promises.

iureiurando adacti: *sc. sunt:* "they were bound by an oath."

militaris aetas: *i.e.,* the men of fighting age; the others were evidently the old men; cf. *principes* below.

11. **cum infulis:** wearing fillets as marks of their sacred office; cf. **XIV:** 12; in this case to protect themselves.

ROMAN PROTEST. FATE OF ABYDUS

XVIII: 1. **iis legatis:** cf. **II:** 3.

qui questus: *i.e.,* Aemilius.

2. **illata:** *sc. esse.*

maxime: to be taken with the whole clause.

3. **insueto:** "to one unaccustomed;" *i.e.,* to Philip, who was an absolute monarch.

4. **velim:** potential subjunctive: "I should desire first of all."

lacessitis: *sc. me.*

animos facere: "inspire me with pride or spirit;" cf. **XIV:** 5.

6. **qui:** *i.e., eos qui.*

7. **vias:** "methods."

8. **facinora:** in this instance, "acts of violence."

potestatem: *sc. Philippi.*

9. **occurrerunt:** *sc. Philippo.*

consulem, etc.: Sulpicius, who had been despatched to Macedonia: cf. **VI:** 1.

Epiro: the old kingdom of Pyrrhus on the western coast of Central Greece.

Apollonia: south of Dyrrachium on the Illyrian coast; the natural landing port for Roman troops trying to reach Macedonia. It was already in the possession of Rome.

Corcyram: an island off the coast of Epirus, modern Corfu, previously taken over by the Romans with a view to its military usefulness.

in hiberna: the fall of 200 B.C. had come.

RETURN OF THE EMBASSY FROM CARTHAGE

XIX: 1. **legatis:** cf. **XI:** 4.

2. **modium:** genitive plural; the modius was roughly equivalent to a peck.

4. **daret:** "offered."

imponendos: *sc. eos.*

5. **legatio:** *i.e.,* the third duty of the embassy.

primos: "nearest:" *i.e.*, to the Romans coming from Masinissa.

obviam progressus: cf. **XIV**: 12 note.

omnem: "any."

CORNELIUS HOLDS SPANISH OVATION

XX: 1. **L. Cornelius Lentulus**: one of the two proconsuls to succeed Scipio in Spain in 206.

2. **res . . . gestas**: campaigns of 206-200, spent in holding down the Spaniards.

triumphanti: if voted a triumph the general, wearing a laurel wreath, rode through the city in a chariot. In the ovation he walked and wore a wreath of myrtle. In general the display was much less in the ovation.

invehi: "to ride."

4. **pro consule**: Cornelius had not held any curule office but was given the powers of a consul while in the province. The same had been true of Scipio, his predecessor, and he too was refused a triumph.

5. **intercedente**: "interposing his veto."

exemplo: "precedent."

7. **pondo**: an adverb used as an indeclinable noun: "pounds."

centenos vicenos asses: very roughly $1.80 each; the soldiers received no regular pay.

VICTORY OVER THE GAULS AT CREMONA

XXI: 1. **exercitus consularis**: cf. **XI**: 2.

quinque milia, etc.: following the alternative order given in **XI**: 3.

2. **L. Furius**: the praetor in Gaul: cf. **VI**: 2.

passuum: the *passus* was two steps, so that *mille passuum* is roughly a mile.

3. **de via**: "from the march."

4. **vagabantur**: *sc. Galli.*

lassitudini: the condition contrary to fact that precedes implies that he did not advance at once to the attack; the present sentence explains why.

5. **raptim ductum**: because of the change of plans caused by the Gallic rising: Cf. **XI**: 1, 2.

agmen: note the distinction from the following *aciem.*

6. **instruendi**: sc. *exercitum: i.e.*, the Roman army.

spatium: here used of time.

eo cursu: "with such speed;" the clauses are more frequently in the reverse order.

7. **habebat**: presumably the subject in Livy's mind was the Roman commander; just why he should explain the regular formation of the allies is not clear.

8. **legati**: subordinate military officers given to provincial commanders.

9. **obire ad**: "meet."

10. **multitudine**: "by virtue of their numbers."

12. **dextra laevaque**: adverbial.

13. **Diiovi**: *Diiovis* is an old nominative form later displaced by *Iupiter*: cf. *Iovis*, etc.

parte: *i.e.*, on one side or end.

14. **nec**: equivalent to *et ne*.

signa inferre: "advance the standards;" *i.e.*, go forward.

15. **ordines**: *i.e.*, *hostium*.

17. **minus**: with numerals the adverb is used elliptically without *quam*. A. & G. 407.c.

carpentis: the wagons in which the Gauls carried with them the belongings that constitute the *praeda*.

18. **Hamilcar**: cf. **X**: 2.

imperatores: a Roman title transferred and indicating simply the higher officers.

Placentini: captured when Placentia fell: cf. **X**: 2.

ad: "about," "nearly."

XXII: 3. **debellatum erat**: *debello* means to fight to a finish, to end a war by victory.

ROMAN FLEET UNDER CLAUDIUS SENT TO ATHENS

4. **Consul alter**: Sulpicius: cf. **XVIII**: 9.

5. **sicut ante dictum est**: cf. **XIV**: 3.

animos: accusative of specification.

6. **per Megara**: includes the territory as well as the town.

7. **infestum**: "dangerous;" *infestos* is understood with *agros*.

Sunium superare: "to round Sunium;" Sunium is the headland at the southern extremity of Attica.

Euripi: between Euboea and the mainland.

8. **apertae**: *i.e.*, without closed sides to protect the rowers; not intended for naval combats.

ROMAN FLEET MAKES SUCCESSFUL RAID ON CHALCIS

XXIII: 1. **regiorum**: the supporters of Philip: he had put a garrison there in 208 B.C.

attulerunt: "reported."

3. **provehi**: "sail on:" "During the day" is implied by what follows.

in statione . . . tenuit: "kept motionless."

4. **tranquillo**: *sc. mari.*

qua: "where."

circa: an adverb, but translate as an adjective: "adjoining."

5. **armatorum**: *i.e.*, of their own troops.

7. **machinarum**: this term would ordinarily include all engines of war, those for hurling stones as well as those for ramming, but here apparently it is used for the latter only, for *tormentorum* includes the *catapulta* and the *ballista.*

fugientium, etc.: the participles are used substantively; especially common in the plural; a borrowed Greek usage.

9. **captivi**: evidently Philip had put captives taken elsewhere into the prison at Chalcis, thinking it the safest city.

11. **quod si**: in this expression, the *quod* (accusative neuter of the relative pronoun) regularly sums up the details preceding: literally, "in respect to which;" translate, "and so if."

magna res: construe as in apposition with the following clause, *Chalcis . . . forent.*

12. **claudit**: *i.e.*, if held, it cuts off southern Greece against attack from the north, just as in the Graeco-Persian wars, Thermopylae and Euripus were considered the keys to Greece.

PHILIP MAKES UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT ON ATHENS

XXIV: 1. **Demetriade**: a strong naval base on the Pagasaean Gulf in Thessaly, one of the three so-called fetters of Greece: Demetrias, Chalcis, Corinth (cf. XXXII, **XXXVII**: 3, 4). For Philip's return from Asia, cf. **XVIII**: 9.

2. **expeditis**: *sc. peditum,* in view of the *equitibus* following.

cursu prope: "almost on the run," "at the double quick;" cf. XXXII, **VIII**: 7.

3. **nec quicquam**, etc.: the expression is elliptical, a verb being understood; in this instance, the postponement of the *cum* and the consequent use of *nec,* add to the difficulty. The prosaic form would be: *et cum nihil aliud fecisset quam* (or *sed*) *venisset;* translate: "when he had only come to the ugly sight," etc.

absumptos: a participle used as a substantive.

pari incepto: *i.e.*, similar to the attack on Chalcis but with better results.

4. **hemerodromos**: "all-day runner."

6. **praetor**: Livy loosely applies this Roman term to the Greek *strategus.*

mercede militantium: "mercenary."

8. **sustinuit signa**: "halted the standards."

9. **ab Dipylo**: "on the side of the Dipylon Gate." This gate was on the west side of the city, leading out onto the road that ran through the great cemetery, by the Academy, and so on to Eleusis and the Peloponnese. The name "double gate" came from its construction.

in ore: "at the mouth of the city;" the Dipylon was naturally the most frequented gate of the city.

limes: "road;" usually a small road or path, but Livy also uses it even of the Appian Way.

Academiae: the school of Plato.

10. **Attali praesidio**: left behind by him: cf. **XV**: 8.

11. **caede**: an ablative of means.

expleturum: *sc. esse*.

12. **gloria**: "ambition."

13. **egregium**: "glorious."

14. **cum**: correlative with *tum*.

17. **Cynosargus**: the precinct of Heracles, east of the city, near Lycabettus.

18. **Lycium**: south-east of Cynosargus toward the Ilissus; a training ground and also a rendezvous of philosophers.

sepulchra: in the outer Cerameicus, outside the Dipylon Gate.

prae impotenti ira: "in the face of his unbridled wrath."

PHILIP AT THE ACHAEAN COUNCIL AT ARGOS

XXV: 1. **praesidium Attali ab Aegina**: cf. **XV**: 8. These forces would land at Piraeus and from there, with the Romans, enter Athens from the south.

Romanique ab Piraeo: cf. **XXII**: 5 and **XXIII**: 10.

2. **Eleusinem**: about thirteen miles west of Athens on the coast. Megara is as far again, Corinth about fifty-three miles from Athens, Argos about twenty-five miles south from Corinth.

templi: the temple of Demeter primarily, the home of the mysteries.

Achaeorum concilium: so in 208 B.C., Philip had gone to the Achaean council at Argos and on leaving had established a Macedonian garrison there.

3. **Nabim**: tyrant of Sparta 207-192 B.C., famous largely for his cruelty.

imperio: *i.e.*, command of the Achaean army.

Philopoemene: general of the Achaean League who had defeated Nabis the year before.

4. **terribilis**: "threatening."

5. **prohibiturum**: understand *se* as subject and *eum* as object.

6. **ita . . . ne**: correlative: "only on condition that."
vestra: "your possessions."

7. **Oreum**, etc.: three of the most important strongholds of Philip outside of Macedonia; Oreus commanded the straits north of Euboea, Chalcis the Strait of Euripus, and Corinth the entrance by land into the Peloponnese.
meis tutis: ablative absolute: "with my possessions safe."

8. **obsidem**: "as hostages," in apposition with *iuventutem*.
Romano bello: "war with Rome;" cf. **X**: 1.

9. **quidem**: the contrast suggested comes out in the clause beginning with *decreto*.
praetor: cf. **XXIV**: 6. note.
nihil attinere: "was of no avail."
id: anticipatory, explained by *non licere*, etc.

10. **libere**: "with independence."

11. **habitus**: concessive: "though he had been considered."

MACEDONIANS FAIL AGAIN AT ATHENS

XXVI: 1. **regione Eleusinis**: "in the neighbourhood of Eleusis," which is some seven miles south of Cithaeron; evidently, crossing from Chalcis, he came to Athens by way of Thebes, and so over the passes of Cithaeron toward Eleusis.

3. **ex castello ab Eleusine**: syntactically, each phrase limits *fieret;* each ablative expresses place from which, the prepositions adding precision to the concepts.
ex improviso: equivalent to an adverb; the more common expression is *de improviso* (but cf. **XXXVII**: 4); for similar compound adverbs, cf. *de integro*, **VI**: 5 *per iram*, **X**: 3; *per commodum*, **XI**: 2.

4. **fefellere**: "escape detection."

6. **contineret urbe**: "kept the Athenians in the city."

7. **iisdem fere**: "about the same men;" *i.e.*, they had come back from Eleusis (cf. § 5).

8. **muri**: the famous Long Walls of Pericles. Philip evidently went to Athens by the direct route between the old walls, by this time in ruins again after having been rebuilt once since the Peloponnesian War. The space between was five hundred and fifty feet.

10. **pagatim**: "in each deme."

11. **domestici marmoris**: marbles of various sorts from Hymettus, Pentelicon, etc.

12. **habuit**: "considered."
integri: the force is conditional: "if left whole."
cumularent ruinas: "make conspicuous heaps of ruin."

ROMANS MAKE FIRST ADVANCES INTO MACEDONIA

XXVII: 1. **Consul,** etc.: cf. **XXII:** 4.

Dyrrachium: like Apollonia, a Roman dependency, the regular landing place in Greece for ships from Italy; originally Epidamnum.

arcessitum: *i.e.,* from the fleet at Corcyra.

2. **extrema:** *sc. loca,* "the outlying parts," *i.e.,* towards Epirus. This is practically all that is known of the location of these towns.

4. **expugnavit:** *sc. urbem.*

6. **nomen,** etc.: Cnidus on the coast of Caria in Asia Minor was famous for its shrine of Aphrodite; the connection with the present Cnidus is not clear.

a novissimo agmine: cf. *ab Dipylo,* **XXIV:** 9.

7. **revectus equo:** "riding back;" cf. **XXIII:** 3. *Vehor* is the regular word for the idea of being transported, the particular rendering being determined by the context.

regii: *sc. milites.*

DIPLOMATIC PREPARATIONS ON BOTH SIDES

XXVIII: 1. **bello commisso:** *i.e.,* actual operations were thus begun.

reguli: petty independent princes, not very different from *principes:* "chieftains."

Macedonum: construe with *accolae* which is regularly followed by the genitive: "who were neighbors of the Macedonians."

Pleuratus: an Illyrian chief.

Athamanum: a tribe in Epirus; the Dardani were to the north in modern Serbia.

2. **suo nomine:** "independently."

pollicentibus: *sc. iis.*

3. **Aetolos:** Livy had already mentioned in an earlier book the friendship between Amynander and the Aetolians.

Aeginae: cf. **XV:** 8, 9.

4. **in Macedoniam:** cf. **XXVI:** 13.

5. **puerum admodum:** "a mere boy:" he was about twelve years old.

datis: *sc. iis,* the antecedent of *qui.*

Pelagoniam: town in the western part of Macedonia, modern Monastir. The passes would lead from Illyria and Epirus.

Sciathum et Peparethum: cities on islands of the same names north of Euboea.

Aetolos: they had made a treaty with Philip in 205 B.C.;

previously, in 214, they had made a treaty with Rome which involved them in war with Philip.

AETOLIAN COUNCIL. SPEECH OF THE MACEDONIAN LEGATE

XXIX: 1. **Concilium:** the annual council of the Aetolians was regularly held in Thermon according to Polybius, but this seems to be at Naupactus (cf. § 8) and is certainly spoken of here as a regular assembly.

Panaetolium: elsewhere also *Panaetolicum:* cf. **XXXII:** 13.

3. **inutili:** predicate after *experta:* "after the Roman alliance had proved useless."

4. **licentiam:** "presumption."

levitatem: "fickleness."

dicam: the subjunctive gives the tone of assumed doubt to the question.

mavultis: *i.e.,* rather than remain true to your treaty.

legatis vestris: refers to an embassy not mentioned by Livy, between the peace with Philip in 205 and the beginning of the present operations.

pacem cum Philippo: they had made peace with him in 205, the Romans following suit shortly after.

5. **simulabant,** etc.: "they pretended that the arms that they took up against him were on your account and on your behalf."

6. **Messanae,** etc.: in the First Punic War. Messana, Syracuse, and Lilybaeum were the chief cities of Sicily.

Syracusas: the end of the Second Punic War.

in libertatem eximerent: *sc. a servitute*: translate: "should set at liberty."

8. **securibus et fascibus:** the symbols of their power.

scilicet: ironical, as usual; translate: "I suppose."

sicut: correlative with *sic* below.

Naupacti: the chief port of Aetolia, on the Gulf of Corinth; cf. § 1, note.

praetor, etc.: the *scilicet,* with its sarcasm, implies a statement of what is really true to follow; hence there is no need of a conjunction.

9. **suggestu:** "platform."

virgae: "the rods of the fasces."

quotannis: *i.e.,* with each Roman election.

10. **Regium,** etc.: all in southern Italy, cities of Magna Graecia.

11. **sepulchrum ac monumentum:** *i.e.,* the funeral monument of their civic existence.

elato: the verb is used regularly of a body carried out to burial.

extorri eiecto: "driven out in exile."

trunca: still keeps the figure of the body politic, maimed by the lopping off of the limbs, namely, the senate, plebs, etc.

12. **alienigenae:** *i.e.*, to the Aetolians.

haec: the cities named above.

13. **aliquid:** accusative of specification: "in any respect."

14. **adsuefacite,** etc.: the imperative does not express a real command: its nature is determined by the future tense following. The two clauses are equivalent to a condition and its result.

15. **coniunguntque:** the desire for rhetorical balance leads Livy into error: he does not wish to make the Macedonian say that light causes hold the Greeks together.

ad tempus: "for the time being."

barbaris: the general Greek term for all non-Greek-speaking peoples.

in diem: "from day to day."

16. **mutetis:** *sc. in eo,* correlative with *in qua.*

APPEAL OF THE ATHENIANS

XXX: 1. **foeda passi:** cf. **XXIV:** 18; **XXVI:** 9-12.

2. **neque,** etc.: indirect discourse follows naturally after *deploraverunt.*

4. **verum enim vero:** an emphatic adversative.

priore, etc.: tombs had been the chief object of Philip's attack before he went to the Peloponnese; on his return he sacked the temples.

6. **habitantes:** agrees with the subject of *reliquerint,* but the construction is loose: the participle goes in sense with *consecrata:* "dedicated when they were living."

contributi: "when they gathered themselves into a single city," *i.e.*, Athens.

deserta: emphatic: "they did not leave uncared for."

9. **urbem:** object of *colentis.*

petitam: *sc. esse.*

SPEECH OF THE ROMAN LEGATE

XXXI: 2. **tot socias:** the plural is for effect: Athens was the only sufferer actually allied.

4. **Cianos,** etc.: cities and islands conquered by Philip. The destruction of Abydus was related in **XVII:** 1 ff.; Aenus and Maronea were conquered just previously (**XVI:** 3 ff.); Cius,

Larisa, and Messene are mentioned in similar wise again (XXXII, XXI: 23 and XXXII, XXXIII: 16): the rest are confirmed by Polybius.

hinc ex Achaia: goes directly with *Messenios:* Messene is in the Peloponnese and not far off from Naupactus.

graviora acerbioraque eos, etc.: refers to such of these as, like Abydus, received worse treatment than Athens.

5. **nisi gloria**, etc.: *i.e.*, they are rather to be boasted of than apologized for.

6. **Regium**, etc.: the Roman argument is, in the main, sound. Rhegium, after the war with Pyrrhus, had become the city of the revolted legion until Rome razed it to the ground and settled a new colony on its site. Syracuse had sided with Carthage and was looted toward the end of the Second Punic War (213). Capua was the over-zealous host of Hannibal in Italy. The steps taken against each were justified by the accepted rules of war. At the same time, the warning of the Macedonian legate was a sane one.

7. **tergo et cervicibus**: "pay the penalty of scourging and death;" *tergo* is collective.

8. **quo indignius esset**: referring to *externis;* Hippocrates and Epicydes were not native Syracusans, but half Carthaginians sent from Carthage.

per triennium: from the death of Hiero in 215.

iisdem armis: "captured and set free by the same arms."

9. **neque infitias imus**: "we do not deny;" this is the only usage in which the word *infitias* occurs; its construction is in origin an accusative of end of motion.

in parte: "on the side of."

quin contra: "rather, on the contrary;" following the negative statement, *neque infitias imus.*

10. **an Campanorum**: takes up the third of the points he has undertaken to answer, for Capua was chief of the Campanian cities and it is of Capua that he is primarily thinking. Cf. *urbes* below.

per annos prope septuaginta: the Samnite wars were, of course, in reality for the aggrandizement of Rome.

cladibus: such as the Caudine Forks.

11. **foedere, conubio, civitate**: successive steps in the absorption of Campania.

12. **tempore nostro adverso**: "in the time of our misfortunes," when Hannibal threatened Rome at close quarters.

15. **oppugnatae captaeve**: "of its siege or capture;" cf. I: 4.

pacem ac libertatem: a somewhat empty boast in view of the humbled state in which Carthage was left, a purely local state paying tribute to Rome and having hostages held at Rome

to insure her good behaviour. Fifty-four years later Carthage was deliberately wiped out.

17. **sint:** *i.e.*, this will have to be enough.

domestica parricidia, etc.: general terms of opprobrium more politic than accurate.

19. **dicatis:** potential subjunctive.

leges pacis . . . accepisse: in 205 B.C. The phrase denotes the defeated party; *leges dare* is used of the victor.

ADJOURNMENT WITHOUT DECISION

XXXII: 1. **praetor:** cf. **XXIV:** 6.

2. **rem:** subject of *esse;* construe *nullam* with *rem.*

sed eandem seram: "but even so, too late."

in integrum restitui: refers rather to the results of the hasty decision which cannot be undone.

3. **eius:** *i.e.*, the present one.

expectandam: *sc. esse.*

ita: looks forward.

Panaetolico: cf. **XXIX:** 1.

et: "or;" cf. next note.

Pylaico: evidently an assembly held at Thermopylae, but Livy is not clear in his own mind about these assemblies. From **XXIX:** 8, it is obvious that this present assembly at Naupactus was competent to pass on questions of peace and war. And this assembly he calls Panaetolian in spite of Polybius' statement that the Panaetolian was held at Thermon. It seems not improbable that there were two regular assemblies, one in the fall, one in the spring; their names were Panaetolian and Pylaic; the former might be held at any one of various cities in western Aetolia and hence is not called by the place name, the other was always held at Thermopylae.

4. **perinde . . . ac si:** "exactly as if."

PHILIP MOVES WESTWARD TO MEET SULPICIUS

XXXIII: 1. **Demetriadem:** cf. **XXIV:** 1; for construction, cf. **XII:** 3.

2. **principio veris:** it is still the fall or winter of 200 B.C. The events of the year 199 are recorded at this point in order to make the narrative consecutive.

3. **faucibus,** etc.: cf. **XXVIII:** 5, note; for the Dardani, cf. **XXVIII:** 1.

4. **per Dassaretiorum fines:** the direct route into Macedonia, straight eastward from Apollonia.

integrum: "without using."

praebentibus agris: cf. *horrea* in § 6, below: evidently this too refers to the grain stored for the winter.

INDECISIVE CAVALRY SKIRMISH FAVOURS THE ROMANS

6. **Lyncum**: evidently near the eastern border of Dassaretia, near Heraclea. The Bevus is a branch of the Eriganon, one of the largest rivers of Macedonia, eventually emptying into the Thermaic Gulf.

8. **fefellit**: the subject is the clause, *hostes appropinquare*.

9. **utpote**: the verb is understood in this usage: "inasmuch as they were;" the phrase explains *virtute*.

incerta victoria: ablative absolute.

10. **in qua**, etc.: the construction follows closely the *quicquam*: "anything as to where."

XXXIV: 3. **nihil . . . multitudinis**: a general proposition implying a specific detailed explanation to follow stating its immediate application.

promptiores: *sc. homines* or the like, implied in *multitudinis*.

4. **gladio Hispaniensi**: this two-edged sword had become the regular weapon of the Roman army after the Second Punic War. Here the longer variety used by the cavalry and available for slashing is meant.

5. **pavidi**: a general characteristic.

vulgo: construe with *pavidi*: "for the most part."

6. **Pleurato**: cf. **XXVIII**: 1.

7. **ducibus transfugis**: ablative absolute; the *transfugae* are those mentioned in **XXXIII**: 11.

plus mille passus: cf. **XXI**: 17.

Athaco: otherwise unknown.

8. **speciem castrorum**, etc.: "the general appearance of the camp and also its details."

quaeque: the several component parts each told off to its own section.

tendentium: the verb is here used absolutely (as in Caesar: B. G., **VI**: 37) for *tentoria tendere*, "to encamp;" the participle is used as a substantive. The Roman camp was always laid out with precision on a fixed plan, surrounded with a ditch, rampart, and palisade, and divided into sections by at least three regular streets, each division of the army and each soldier having a regular place in camp.

barbarorum: here in the sense of non-civilized rather than merely non-Greek.

FURTHER SKIRMISHING

XXXV: 1. **aleam:** a gaming figure: "a cast of the dice."

Trallis: its location in Illyria is not known.

Cretenses: they were regularly bowmen.

purpuratis: *i.e.*, court officers.

2. **velites:** light armed troops whose function was skirmishing.

3. **quo:** instead of the more familiar dative; occurs only here in Livy, but Cicero and Vergil both use the ablative: the verb part of *adsuesco* is more important and the ablative is perhaps an ablative of specification.

in vicem: "alternately."

6. **equiti:** *sc. Romano*, which is evident from the contrast with *regius*, just as below *regius* is to be understood in contrast with *Romano*.

concursator et vagus: skirmishers at large.

genere armorum: the ablative is one of specification and is to be construed with *par erat*.

GREAT ROMAN VICTORY AT OTTOLOBUM

XXXVI: 1. **caetratos, peltastas:** the former is the Roman, the latter the Greek name for the troops carrying the small shield in contrast with the large shield of the regular legionaries.

2. **procederet:** "went well."

uterentur: "follow up."

minus: *sc. procederet res;* the *minus* is equivalent to a simple negative.

5. **vallum:** *i.e.*, of their camp: cf. **XXXIV:** 7.

stativis: the fixed camp of the Romans.

equitibus, etc.: an explanatory clause: "since the [Macedonian] cavalry would attack."

6. **milia:** *sc. passuum.*

Ottolobum: the location is uncertain.

8. **quantum:** adverbial: "in so far as."

9. **dato signo:** "with the order."

10. **refugientes:** the substantival use of the participle in this and the following sentences is noteworthy.

XXXVII: 1. **agmine quadrato:** "in battle formation."

3. **nam,** etc.: reverts to the progress of the contest before the arrival of the main Roman force.

prope iusta acies: "very nearly a normal fighting line:" he had only light-armed infantry.

plurimi: *i.e.*, the infantry of the foraging Romans.

4. **ex improviso:** cf. **XXVI:** 3, note.

5. **quod si**: the relative, an accusative of specification, embraces all the preceding details; cf. **XXIII**: 11, note.

6. **profectum foret**: "progress would have been made."

nunc: adversative: "as it was;" this relation is prepared for by the condition contrary to fact.

praegressas . . . cohortes: the relief force.

11. **per vias inviaque**: purely rhetorical.

evasurum: *sc. eum esse.*

12. **ornati**: "fully equipped."

armorum: *i.e.*, the weapons of their riders.

COMMENTS ON THE BATTLE

XXXVIII: 1. **nam et**, etc.: indirect discourse is suggested by *accusarent.*

circa: adverb.

3. **debellari**: "fought out;" *i.e.*, the war could have been ended.

dictu quam re: "to say than to do;" the construction is mixed: *facilis dictu* means "easy to say," *re facilis* means "easy in fact."

ut pleraque: *sc. fieri solent*, or *solent esse:* "as is usually the case."

4. **quoque**: *i.e.*, as well as the cavalry.

5. **cum vero**, etc.: the condition contrary to fact has already anticipated an adversative clause.

6. **neque enim**, etc.: answering the charge of rashness against the king.

7. **eo quoque**: looks forward to the *quod* clause.

Pleuratum Dardanosque: cf. **XXXIV**: 6.

8. **sedentem**: "without an effort."

credi poterat: "it was to be expected."

SULPICIUS ALLOWS THE MACEDONIANS TO ESCAPE

9. **caduceatore**: "a herald, carrying a staff of office."

XXXIX: 1. **curabat**: the imperfect expresses continued action: "was caring."

quid: "why."

nuntiatum est: *sc. ei.*

2. **copiam**: "a chance:" *i.e.*, the herald would be given a hearing.

id quod: looks forward to the next clause.

3. **qua**: *sc. via.*

4. **Stuberram**, etc.: these places have not been definitely located. In general, the movement is eastward toward the central districts of Macedonia.

5. **transversis limitibus**: cf. **XXIV**: 9: "by short cuts."

10. **phalangi**: the regular heavy formation of the Macedonians in which spears of the three rows behind the first projected in front of the first row shields.

praelongis hastis: ablative of means.

obiecit: "presented;" the subject is *phalanx*.

11. **nullius admodum usus**: "of absolutely no use;" the genitive is descriptive, denoting quality.

rumpiae: a long missile, native to the Thracians.

12. **ut**: "although."

si quis, etc.: "whenever there was an attack:" notice the force of the subjunctive.

patentem: "exposed to."

scuta Romana: the contrast marked by *ut . . . ita* implies infantry here, and these are the troops that carried the *scutum*.

13. **peterent**: "shoot at."

15. **ut in locis**: "as was natural in such places:" a very frequent ellipsis in Livy.

difficili fuga: ablative absolute.

XL: 1. **Eordaeam**: this is a district, as are also Elimia and Orestis; in general, they lie in south-central Macedonia.

2. **angustis faucibus**: the neck of land which makes the place a peninsula. The ablative is descriptive.

4. **libera capita**: "the free population," contrasted with *servitia*.

IN PHILIP'S ABSENCE THE AETOLIANS ATTACK MACEDONIA

7. **Aetoli**: cf. **XXXII**: 1 ff.

Athamanes: cf. **XXVIII**: 1.

9. **proximo concilio**: apparently a special council meeting called in accordance with the vote recorded in **XXXII**: 4.

10. **Oreum**: accusative of place to which, after the motion implied in *adventum*, but the usage is rare after a noun. The town is at the northern end of Euboea, commanding the coast of Macedonia; cf. **XXV**: 7.

XLI: 1. **restituerant**: in XXXIII, **XIII**: 7 ff., the point comes up as to whether the Aetolians could take up the Roman alliance in this way without definite renewal. This question was ground for future trouble.

Cercinium: the location is uncertain.

4. **Boeben paludem**: just north of the Pagasaean Gulf.

5. **Perrhaebia**: a district further north toward Macedonia. Cyretiae and Maboea are cities of this district. Gomphi is in western Thessaly near the Athamanian border.

7. **nec . . . nec**: correlative. These repeat and do not cancel the force of the negative *non*. In English: "either . . . or."

8. **campestribus locis**: an ablative of place where; there is no preposition because the meaning is perfectly clear without it.

subicientis, etc.: "pitching their camp hard under the city."

PHILIP SURPRISES AND ROUTS THE AETOLIANS

10. **dies noctibus aequarent**: "passed nights and days."

11. **inopinantibus**: *sc. iis*.

trepidare: this and the following infinitives are historical; the effect is that of an enumeration of the details of a hurried, confused scene.

13. **aegre**: "barely."

14. **caesi captique**: *sc. sunt ii*.

XLII: 1. **receptui**: the dative (of purpose) is due to the meaning of *cano*, "to give a signal;" translate: "to sound retreat."

4. **summum**: adverb: "at most."

5. **ut**: cf. **XXXIX**: 15.

6. **per aversam partem**: "through the opposite side of the camp."

7. **superesset**: in form the condition is mixed; translate as if the verb were *superfuisset*. The tense is due to the fact that the conditional clause falls outside the *dubius* clause, and the time is thought of as the same as that of *consedit*.

8. **quo duce**: "under whose general leadership."

hostibus: dative after *ignotas*.

THE DARDANIANS ALSO DEFEATED

XLIII: 1. **adeptus**: "overtook."

postremum agmen: "the rear of their line."

2. **iusto proelio**: descriptive ablative: "with regular battle formation;" contrasted with *turbavit*.

MANY AETOLIANS LEAVE TO SERVE PTOLEMY

5. **Scopas**: a disgruntled Aetolian who had gone to Egypt and had become a leader of the army there.

Ptolomaeo: cf. **II**: 3.

mercede conductos: "as mercenaries;" cf. Xenophon's Ten Thousand.

6. **Aegyptum**: expresses place to which: the sense makes the addition of a preposition quite unnecessary.

7. **futurae solitudinis**: *i.e.*, of the undefended condition in which the state would be left.

parum donis cultus: *i.e.*, because Scopas had not bribed him sufficiently.

castigando: practically repeats *admonens*, but is stronger.

ATHENIAN MANIFESTATIONS AGAINST PHILIP

XLIV: 1. **classis**: the main fleet at Corcyra; cf. **XXII**: 5.

Apustio: cf. **XXVII**: 1 ff.

Maleo: the Malean peninsula at the southern extremity of the Peloponnese.

Scyllaeum: the promontory at the eastern extremity of Argolis; the town of Hermione, south-west of Scyllaeum, gave its name to the territory. For the genitive of the territory, cf. **XLV**: 6, 15.

2. **Attalo**: cf. **XIV**: 11 and **XV**: 8.

odio: specifies the point in which they had shown moderation. The idea behind the *odio* becomes the most prominent in the next clause and is taken up by *id*.

in . . . spem: "because of the hope." This use of *in* is regular in bargains, where it means "in consideration of" value received.

3. **quod genus**: "this type of person," implied in the *linguae*.

4. **rogationem . . . tulerunt**: *i.e.*, the magistrates put the question and the people decreed. Both are Roman terms applied to a foreign state. The subject of *tulerunt* may possibly be *linguae*.

nomina: "inscriptions."

secus: adverbial accusative. That this was the regular phrase is indicated by its use once by Sallust (H. fr. 29) and twice by Tacitus (Ann. IV.62.3; Hist. V.15.3).

sacra: so Alexander had been deified.

5. **profanarentur**: the opposite of *consacrarentur*.

loca: even the spots where statues or inscriptions had been.

detestabilia: "accursed."

placere: *i.e.*, *Atheniensibus*.

eorum, quae, etc.: *i.e.*, any statues or monuments to the gods, which must be established in unpolluted spots.

6. **detestari atque exsecrari**: the construction follows *placere*. The two verbs are practically equivalent in meaning: "to denounce and to curse;" the repetition is characteristic of the legal language.

7. **notam**: "the stigmatising."

8. **dixisset**, etc.: these subjunctives all stand for future perfects in the direct discourse.

occidisset: the object is implied in the *si quis* clause.

inclusum: *i.e.*, in the decree.

Pisistratidas: the sons of Pisistratus, Hipparchus and Hippias, tyrants of Athens. Hipparchus was assassinated in 514 B.C. and Hippias driven from the country in 511.

PREDATORY ACTIVITIES OF THE ALLIED FLEETS IN THE AEGEAN

9. **quidem**: gives warning of the contrast to follow.

XLV: 2. **immodicis**: agrees with *decretis*.

aeque atque fuerant: "as they had been." Translate: "loaded down with decrees of the Athenians, as immoderate in honour of the allies as they had been in wrath toward the enemy."

3. **Andrum**: cf. **XV**: 8.

4. **potestatis suae esse**: "independent;" the genitive denotes possession.

6. **pacti**: the subject is *ipsi*, the natives plus the royal garrison (*praesidium*).

singulis vestimentis: cf. **XVII**: 3.

Delium: near the Attic border of Boeotia. For the genitive, cf. **XLIV**: 1.

9. **Cythnum**: cf. **XV**: 8.

traiecerunt: intransitive.

absumpti: *sc. sunt;* the subject of *abscessere* is the same as that of *traiecerunt*, the Romans and Attalus.

10. **Prasias**: on the east coast of Attica.

continentis Atticae: "of the Attic mainland."

Issaeorum: "from Issa," an island in the Adriatic, not far from Dyrrachium.

Carystiorum: Carystus was a town on the southern end of Euboea; the promontory and harbor of Geraestum was southeast from Carystus; Scyrus and Icus and Sciathus were islands lying in a northerly direction from Euboea; Cassandrea was a coast town of Macedonia where Potidaea was later built; Mendae was on the westernmost of the three peninsulas of the Chalcidice.

11. **tenuit**: "stuck to."

mari medio: "across the open sea;" *i.e.*, not coasting, although they could never have been far from land.

12. **vastatam**, etc.: cf. **XXVIII**: 6.

14. **Mendaeum**: the town is regularly called Mendae; this is evidently the adjective with *vicum* understood.

superato: "rounded."

armamentis: "rigging."

15. **in unum**: "to one place;" cf. *dispersi* above.

Canastraeum: the southern point of the peninsula Pallene, on which Mendae was situated. For the genitive of the larger territory in which the cape lay, cf. **XLIV:** 1 and **XLV:** 6.

Torones: a town on the central of the three Chalcidian peninsulas.

16. **Acanthum:** on the coast just north of the easternmost peninsula.

AETOLIANS SEEK ASSISTANCE

XLVI: 1. **sinum Maliacum:** the Asopus empties into the Malian Gulf, and Heraclea is a short distance up the river.

3. **foedere:** cf. **XV:** 9.

ab Attalo: "from Attalus," as is indicated by what follows.

4. **gravati essent:** "had been unwilling;" cf. **XV:** 10.

5. **auxilio:** evidently the help must come from the Roman and not from the fleet, so Apustius could only make promises.

OREUS CAPTURED BY ATTALUS AND CLAUDIUS

6. **ante:** in 207 B.C., Attalus and the Romans had *taken* Oreus, which was, however, shortly after abandoned to Philip.

iis: *i.e.,* Attalus and the Romans.

Andri: cf. **XLV:** 6.

7. **tectae:** "decked;" cf. *apertae,* **XXII:** 8.

Zelasium: not named elsewhere.

Demetrias: at the head of the Pagasaean Gulf.

9. **marituma arce:** Livy had explained in an earlier book (XXVIII, **VI:** 2) that Oreus, like Athens, Corinth, and many other Greek towns, had a separate harbour, while it lay somewhat inland itself.

9. **qua et,** etc.: "where the city is divided by a wall too;" in reality, two towns.

10. **testudinibus,** etc.: the various machines for assaulting cities, familiar from Caesar's descriptions. The Romans make an actual assault with rams, the King uses the artillery to weaken the walls.

11. **priore oppugnatione:** evidently that of 207. Tunnels were used by Philip at Abydus: cf. **XVII:** 2.

praesentioribus: "resolute."

castigationis, etc.: Philip had soundly rated them for the fault they had committed, namely, yielding, and had made threats and promises for the future, to be effective according to their conduct.

12. **proxima continentis**: *sc. loca*, "the adjacent parts of the mainland," namely, the coast of Thessaly. Larisa lies just across the straits from Oreus and a little way inland; cf. **XXXI**: 4. Pteleon is northward along the coast.

14. **timentibus**: an incomplete ablative absolute: the noun is to be supplied from Pteleon.

opera in effectu: "the siege operations were active."

16. **arcem alteram**: *i.e.*, the citadel of the main city within the city walls.

XLVII: 1. **et**: *i.e.*, in addition to the approaching rainy season.

Coela: the southern half of the Euboean Sea, south of Euripus.

2. **statum**: either a substantive, meaning "the fixed date," or else to be construed with *sacrum* or the like understood.

initiorum: the festival of the Greater Eleusinia, when the initiations into the Mysteries took place; it was a ten days' festival in September.

Here, except for a few paragraphs in Book XXXII (III-VI), ends the account of the Greek campaign of 199 and Livy returns to finish up other events of the year 200.

L. FURIUS GRANTED A GALLIC TRIUMPH

4. **Consul alter**, etc.: cf. **XXII**: 3, where the Gallic campaign of 200 B.C. was closed.

6. **imminens**: "intent upon."

aede Bellonae: temple near the Circus Maximus where the senate met to listen to persons excluded by law from the city. Cf. XXX, **XXI**: 12.

XLVIII: 1. **gratia**: "personal influence."

2. **negabant**: "voted against."

alieno: "another's."

provinciam reliquisset: evidently refers to his going, under consular orders, to Etruria, when Gaul was his designated field of action; cf. **VI**: 2.

exemplo: "precedent."

4. **urbem**: Cremona is meant as also by *colonia*.

6. **suis auspiciis**: *i.e.*, acting independently.

7. **coloniis**: Cremona and Placentia.

claustra: just as Demetrias, Chalcis, and Corinth are the three "fetters" of Greece (cf. XXXII, **XXXVII**: 4).

12. **Furiae genti**: the reference is to Camillus who had driven the Gauls out of Rome in 390 B.C.

XLIX: 1. **gratia:** ablative.

frequentes: "by a large majority."

2. **in magistratu:** "while still in office.'

3. **aeris:** presumably means asses, so the silver must denote denarii.

quingentos: *sc. nummos.*

GAMES AT ROME

4. **consul:** in apposition with the subject: "when consul." As a matter of fact, it was after his consulship, as proconsul, that he went to Africa toward the close of the Second Punic War in 204 B.C. But he had started his expedition while still consul.

5. **militum:** *i.e.*, to be given them in reward for service; cf. **IV:** 1, note. There is some confusion of decrees here. It is to be noted that Polybius puts the games with the triumph of Scipio in 201. The Spanish soldiers did not return with Scipio nor are they mentioned in the decree of ch. **IV.** Perhaps this present decree applies to them only.

6. **Venusinis:** dative. Venusia, on the border between Apulia and Samnium, was the birthplace of Horace.

Terentius: cf. **XI:** 18.

Quinctius: cf. **IV:** 3.

SUCCESSES OF CORNELIUS IN SPAIN

7. **Sedetano:** the Sedetani occupied the land south from the Hiberus as far as the Sucro River in western Spain.

RETURN OF AURELIUS. ELECTIONS

8. **Aurelius:** cf. **IV:** 4 and more especially **XLVII:** 4 ff.

12. **Cornelius Lentulus:** cf. **XX:** 1.

Villius: cf. **IV:** 3.

Quinctius, Valerius: cf. **IV:** 5.

L: 1. **binis aeris:** cf. the acceptable price of four asses mentioned in **IV:** 6.

2. **ludos Romanos:** cf. **IV:** 6, note.

3. **ludi plebeii:** these came in November and included circus and scenic entertainments. They had been founded, at least as a popular festival, only twenty years before.

4. **ludi funebres:** public games, probably in the forum, given in honour of a dead relative. This was the first type of games to introduce gladiatorial contests into Rome.

Valeri: cf. **III:** 3.

5. **sacrorum**: *i.e.*, of the Sibylline Books.
suffectus: *i.e.*, elected to fill out the term.

7. **flamen Dialis**: Dialis is an archaic adjective, "of Jupiter." The priest could not by law take oath to be bound by the laws (*in leges iurare*), but as usual a convenient subterfuge was invented.

qui: *ei* is understood as antecedent; just below, *aliquem* is similarly understood.

8. **arbitratu**: "with the approval."

9. **plebes . . . scivit**: "decreed."

11. **Lentulo**: in XXXIII, **XXVII**: 1, the name is given as Cn. Cornelius Blasio. It is not altogether clear which instance is in error.

BOOK XXXII

ASSIGNMENTS FOR THE YEAR 199 B.C.

I: 1. **idibus Martiis**: cf. XXXI, **V**: 2, note.

provincias: *"spheres of action;"* cf. XXXI, **II**: 2, note.

2. **Ariminum**: stands here for the whole Gallic province: cf. XXX, **I**: 9.

3. **novas legiones**: evidently two in number, for they take the place of the two enrolled the previous year by Aurelius for service in Italy; cf. XXXI, **VIII**: 5, 6.

scribere: "to enroll."

4. **quas . . . habuisset**: cf. XXXI, **VIII**: 5, 6; these were already serving in Macedonia.

5. **exauctorati**: "discharged," "mustered out."

quinque milia socium: these had been enrolled the year before; cf. XXXI, **VIII**: 7.

circa Ariminum provinciam: Ariminum is specified as the center of the fixed troops in Gaul; cf. XXXI, **X**: 5.

7. **idem**: nominative singular: "he, the same man."

8. **sacrilegii**: cf. XXXI, **XII**: 3; already expiated according to XXXI, **XIII**: 1.

Locros mitteret: "fetch back to Locri."

9. **feriae Latinae**: festival held on the Alban Mount for all members of the Latin League, presided over by the consuls and appointed by them when they entered on their office on the Ides of March. The meat of the sacrifice was divided between the representatives of the various member towns to typify the confederation. Either Livy is anticipating himself, or the games referred to must be those of the preceding year.

Latinis: *sc. feriis.*

10. **Formiani legati**: *nuntiaverunt* is understood from *nuntiatum est,* and *tactum* is continued with these clauses as far as *in Herculis.*

Sangus: more regularly *Sancus;* a Sabine god; the form is genitive singular.

11. **capillum**: presumably this hair grew on the head of the statue.

13. **navis longae**: regularly used of warships in general.

quibus diis videretur: equivalent to *iis diis quibus consulibus videretur*.

14. **res divinae**: "prayers and sacrifices."

DEALINGS WITH CARTHAGE, GADES, AND NARNIA

II: 1. **stipendium**: the Romans, at the end of the war, required of Carthage 10,000 talents in fifty annual payments. The first payment was to be made at once but may have been delivered to the Roman commander in Africa.

2. **experientibus**: dative of reference, with *quaestoribus* understood.

decocta: *i.e.*, melted away in the testing, showing it to be alloy.

pecunia mutua: "borrowed money."

3. **petentibus**: *sc. Carthaginiensibus.*

obsides: the hostages required when peace was made.

ceteris: Livy is authority for the statement that there were only one hundred hostages in all (XXX, **XXXVII**: 6).

5. **praefectus**: *i.e.*, Roman inspector.

adversus id, quod . . . convenisset: "in spite of the agreement made by them."

6. **legatis**: in construction a loose dative of reference.

ad numerum: *i.e.*, up to the number assigned when the colony was planted.

7. **Cosani**: later on they received some help. (XXXIII, **XXIV**: 8.)

AFFAIRS IN MACEDONIA

III: 1. **excepit**: *sc. eum.*

ea: attracted by *milia*. It refers to the mutineers. In XXXI, **VIII**: 6, the impression was given that the men volunteered.

post devictum Hannibalem: cf. *a condita urbe*, XXXI, **I**: 4.

4. **impositos**: *sc. esse*, infinitive after a verb of saying assumed from *negabant*.

6. **probabilem**: "sound," "likely to be approved."

7. **de missione**: there is no record of what happened to this petition.

IV: 1. **Thaumacos**: on the high plateau of south-central Thessaly.

2. **Aetolorum**: whom Philip had driven home the year before (cf. XXXI, **XLII**), now returning with a new leader.

3. **eunti**: "as you go," a dative of reference.
faucibus: the passes of Mt. Othrys.

4. **quam**: the antecedent is *Thessaliae:* "looking down on Thessaly which they call Koile, the great basin of the Peneus."
quae: The exact syntax is sacrificed to picturesqueness of description, thoroughly typical of Livy: one step after another his words present the scene, up the rough mountain sides and winding trails to the pass at the top where the ocean-wide stretch of the Thessalian plain bursts on the view.
terminare: "see the end of," "measure."

5. **miraculo**: "marvellous view."

V: 1. **quanticumque**: "however short," for the winter was already approaching.

2. **Philippum**: the emphasis of *ceteri* and the use of *quidem* show clearly that this clause is adversative and this remains true in spite of the complications introduced by the following clauses: the others rested, but Philip while he did, in a way, rest, was too worried to get real relaxation.

3. **novandi res**: "for starting a revolution" (*i.e.*, to put on the throne someone friendly to Rome).

4. **iusiurandum**: the Achaeans had bound themselves to Philip largely for the sake of protection against Sparta and might readily accept a stronger protector; they had no real love for Macedonia.
Orchomenon et Heraean: cities of Arcadia held by him.
Triphylia: the southern part of Elis. The cession of these various places had been promised by Philip eight years before, but he had not found it necessary to keep his promise.

5. **Megalen polin**: the Greek name for the city founded in 371 B.C. on the advice of Epaminondas, by the inhabitants of thirty-eight Arcadian villages.

7. **Heracliden**: cf. XXXI, **XVI**: 3, note.

9. **Chaonia**: the northwestern district of Epirus, though evidently considered here as separate.
Antigoneam: a Macedonian outpost on the river that bounds Epirus on the north, commanding the best entrance into Macedonia from Apollonia.

VI: 1. **Consul**: *i.e.*, Villius.

3. **proponeretur**: "appeared probable."
quo . . . intraverat: cf. XXXI, **XXVII**: 1. The route lay further north.

5. **Valerius**: one of the later annalists on whom Livy depends much for his information concerning Italian affairs during this period, deferring to Polybius almost entirely for Greek matters. See Introduction.

recto itinere: a confusion by Valerius Antias: Villius would naturally go by the valley and that is why Philip occupied it.

ELECTIONS AT ROME

VII: 1. Livy returns to take up the remaining events of the year 199 B.C. before continuing with the Greek campaign of the following year.

3. **senatum . . . legerunt:** "made up the new list of senators."

nota: "excision;" the censors had the right, in making up the lists, to bar anyone whom they considered ineligible.

venalicium: older form of the genitive plural. *Portoria venalicium* are taxes on goods sold, not necessarily customs duties.

Castrum: probably for *Castrorum;* reference is to the colony in Bruttium named from Hannibal's camp at that place. This colony later became a municipal town, which explains the following clause.

fruendum locarunt: "awarded the contract for collecting." The process was one of renting to the highest bidder the collecting of the taxes for a definite period. *Fruendum* agrees with *portorium* but is to be taken also with *portoria.*

Tifatis: mountains just north of Capua.

Capuae agrum: state land in the territory of Capua.

4. **L. Manlius Acidinus:** cf. XXXI, **L:** 11, and for the subject matter and constructions of the paragraph, cf. XXXI, **XX,** notes.

9. **T. Quinctium Flamininum:** cf. XXXI, **IV:** 3 and **XLIX:** 6. He was thirty years old.

10. **honorum gradus:** this was a matter of custom only, down to 180 B.C., when the Villian law fixed the ages at which the magistracies could be held; not until the time of Sulla was the *cursus honorum* legally fixed.

11: **campestri:** *i.e.,* in the Campus Martius where the elections were held.

12. **in auctoritate fuere:** "yielded to."

13. **ludi plebei:** for these and the following ceremonies, cf. XXXI, **IV:** 5-7, notes.

14. **flamine Diali:** see XXXI, **L:** 7.

15. **suffecti sunt:** see XXXI, **L:** 5.

VIII: 1. **compararent inter se:** "divide between them by agreement."

3. **novus omnis:** because of the disaster just recounted, the two Italian legions were terribly reduced and demoralised.

5. **urbanam:** *sc. praeturam.*

7. **iussi:** *sc. consules,* who regularly enrolled new levies.

EMBASSY FROM ATTALUS

10. **Antiochum:** cf. XXXI, **XIV:** 5 ff. Antiochus, in alliance with Philip, had already defeated the Egyptians and the Syrians and was free to attack Pergamum.

11. **mitterent:** the equivalent of an imperative in the direct discourse, as is also *paterentur;* no connective is necessary after *orare,* which is itself sufficient sign of the indirect discourse.

12. **iussit:** *sc. consulibus.*

13. **socium et amicum:** a technical term for an ally. Cf. XXXI, **XI:** 14. It was to the interest of Rome to keep Antiochus from opposing them while they were involved with Philip.

15. **velint adiutos:** the passive construction puts the emphasis on the state rather than on the act. It is common in more colloquial Latin and not rare in Livy. The effect here is of somewhat impersonal, diplomatic language.

16. **aequum . . . servare:** a rather specious argument, for Philip was an ally of Antiochus, who might turn the Romans' argument against themselves.

PORTENTS AND EXPIATIONS

IX: 4. **rebus divinis:** cf. **I:** 14.

Aelius, etc.: takes up in detail the statement *consules . . . profecti sunt;* the construction is then broken, the second detail being taken up in a new sentence, *T. Quinctius,* etc.

5. **quem dimittere debebat:** this obligation is not necessarily implied by the orders of the senate (**VIII:** 3), but is repeated in **XXVI:** 2.

QUINCTIUS IN EPIRUS
FUTILE PEACE CONFERENCE

6. **Brundisio:** cf. XXXI, **XIV:** 1; the regular port of departure for Greece.

Corcyram: cf. **VI:** 1; Villius's winter quarters.

8. **recto itinere:** here properly used of the passage up the valley; cf. **VI:** 5.

9. **per Dassaretios:** the more northerly approach to Macedonia, which had been used the year before; cf. XXXI, **XXXIII:** 4.

10. **quod antea fecerat:** cf. XXXI, **XXXIX:** 2 and XXXI, **XL:** 6.

11. **expediebant**: shows that the decision was made by Quinctius and his officers in council.

X: 1. **Epirotarum**: nominally dependent on Macedonia but practically independent. They were in general faithful to Philip. Cf. XXXI, VII: 9.

2. **praetor**: this and *magister equitum* are Roman titles transferred to Epirot officials.

3. **civitatibus**: very general: it evidently includes all of the Greek states outside Macedonia. Quinctius looked on himself as the liberator of Greece.

ceterorum: probably a copyist's mistake for *ceterarum*, he thinking that the contrast was with *iis*, whereas it is really with *res quae comparerent*.

aequo arbitrio: by some board of assessors, presumably neutral, perhaps Roman.

5. **quo vellent**: contracted form of statement for *quo vellent se uti*, or possibly *quo* is for *quem*, attracted into the ablative by the *arbitro*.

6. **arbitro aut iudice**: no real distinction here, merely a fullness of phrase used for the purpose of giving a solemn tone.

dicere: historical infinitive.

7. **Thessalos**: dependent on Macedonia since they were conquered by Philip II.

8. **medio**: between them.

PHILIP DISLODGED BY STRATEGY

XI: 2. **anfractus**: "winding trails."

4. **percunctatum**: supine.

crederet: stands for the imperative of the direct discourse; imperfect because *iubet* is an historical present.

suae: *i.e., Quinctii:* he should keep control of everything, not leave it to the shepherd.

6. **biduo**: a noun, ablative of time when. The manoeuvre is probably not clearly understood by Livy as this demonstration would be more natural when the special detachment had left. Livy notes simply an increased intensity after the departure of the small contingent (cf. *eo intentius*, § 10).

7. **ducere**: "lead the way:" *equites* is the subject.

monstraret: the change of sequence from *patiantur* and *ventum sit* and presently back to *polliceatur* and later again to *posset*, seems to be the result of confusion caused by the present tense *iubet* used in a past narrative sense.

8. **posset**: subject is *tribunus*, the subject also of *sumeret*, following.

9. **sumeret**: representing an imperative in the direct discourse; the change of construction is for the sake of variety.

10. **stationes**: the fortified outposts of the king.

XII: 1. **cornua . . . castris**: the light armed troops, placed on the two wings, are sent, over the more difficult ground, against the two Macedonian camps mentioned in **V**: 11.

3. **verterat**: for *se verterat*.

4. **ab tergo**: *i.e., regiorum*.

6. **potuit**: *potuisset* would have been more strictly logical, but the perfect indicative emphasizes the fact.

XIII: 1. **quas**: depends on *inter*.
valle: cf. **V**: 11.

THESSALY RAVAGED BY FRIEND AND FOE

2. **terrae Molottidis**: to distinguish it from Triphylia in the Peloponnese.

Lyncon: a Greek neuter accusative; in apposition to *montes*.

3. **Epiri**: genitive of possession.

oriens spectat: ordinarily *latus* would be subject and *oriens* object rather than the reverse, as here.

septentrio . . . obicitur: also an unusual expression: "the north [*i.e.*, the northern slope] is confronted by Macedonia." As a matter of fact, the range runs north-east and south-west.

5. **Triccam**: a long day's march southwards through one of the upper valleys of the Peneus river system.

limitibus: "routes;" cf. XXXI, **XXXIX**: 5.

7. **crudelius**: adjective with *quod*.

9. **Pheras**, etc.: Philip evidently follows down the Lethaeus to its junction with the Peneus, then up the opposite branch, the Apidanus, then northwards, making a rapid circuit of the Thessalian Plain.

10. **Sperchias**, etc.: Although not all of these towns can be identified, it is clear that the Aetolians struck north across the Spercheius River and the Othrys Mts. into the Thessalian Plain.

Cymenes et Angeias: Greek genitives; see A. & G. 357.a and 410.a.

15. **Amynander**: king of Athamania, the district just west of Thessaly in Epirus; cf. XXXI, **XXVIII**: 1.

XIV: 1. **Gomphos**: cf. XXXI, **XLI**: 6.

2. **tuentes**: used substantively: "the men guarding."

3. **ignobilia**: "of no repute." None of the places named were

prominent, but their conquest extended the territory won till it met that overrun by the Aetolians to the southward and that despoiled by Philip on the north.

QUINCTIUS PROCEEDS INTO THESSALY

4. **incerta,** etc.: because of their treatment at the hands of Philip.

6. **Epirotae:** cf. **X:** 1.

ab satisfaciendi cura: "from their eagerness to please him."

habitu: "attitude."

7. **ut . . . Ambracium:** having made the Epirots friendly, he could have his base of supplies much more accessible by means of this movement of the fleet without maintaining his communications with the coast of Apollonia.

XV: 1. **Phaloriam:** just inside the border of Thessaly and north of the field of Amynander's activity.

2. **in eo verti:** "hinged on this outcome."

4. **Aeginium:** still further north.

ad Gomphorum regionem: his purpose seems to be to maintain his lines of communication with the fleet.

5. **explorato:** the construction is ablative absolute, the *utrum* clause being the other member.

Leucadem: the island just off the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf.

in vicem: "in succession;" cf. XXXI, **XLII:** 2.

6. **sicut . . . ita:** this correlative pair mark their respective clauses merely as balanced, but they are almost always used with contrasted clauses and so come to mean: "although . . . yet."

7. **perbrevi:** some forty miles in a straight line.

8. **Perrhaebia:** the Thessalian district north of the Peneus.

oriundi: simple adjective.

9. **Tempe:** the famous valley near the mouth of the Peneus. With its mountainous sides, it was a place of retreat easily defensible.

NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE AEGEAN

XVI: 2. **L. Quinctius:** younger brother of the consul; cf. XXXI, **IV:** 5.

3. **Samen:** the old name of Cephallenia.

4. **Livio:** the last named commander of the fleet was L. Apuntius (XXXI, **XXVII:** 1), legate under Sulpicius in 200 B.C. It seems probable that Livius was legate in 199 B.C. and

dropped out of the somewhat confused account of that year given in the first seven chapters of the present book. Probably the fleet had not been active under his command. He evidently had not gone to Athens: cf. **XVI: 5.**

Maleum: sc. *promuntorium;* cf. XXXI, **XLIV:** 1.

trahendis . . . navibus: see A. & G. 507. The gerundive has its strictly passive sense and the ablative is one of means or manner; in translation make active: "by towing the supply ships."

7. **tectarum:** "decked;" apparently the same as the Roman *navis longa*

8. **Carystus:** at the southern end of Euboea.

9. **iussis:** part of an ablative absolute, the other member to be supplied from the *quaeque naves.* These are the ships, aside from his own three quinqueremes, which he brought from Corcyra and left at Malea to follow him to Athens.

10. **adfatim:** used substantively with the genitive, like *satis.*

11. **fessi:** agrees with *oppidani* and applies to all; *vulnerati* agrees with *oppidani,* but is limited by *aliquot* in an appositive use equivalent to an adverb: "and wounded, some of them."

15. **Dum in spem,** etc.: It looks as though the Roman wished to insist on his own precedence in the alliance and therefore refused to recognize the advances made to Attalus. This view is supported by the plunder of the Eretrians and the different treatment accorded a little later to the Carystians who made their surrender to Quinctius.

17. **signa,** etc.: with the conquest of Sicily, stolen objects of Greek art had begun to be the chief decorations of Rome.

XVII: 2. **libertas:** evidently includes exemption from plunder.

nummi: presumably Greek drachmae.

3. **Cenchreas:** the port for Corinth on the east side of the Isthmus.

QUINCTIUS FAILS AT ATRAX AND MOVES INTO PHOCIS

4. **ea:** *sc. parte.*

8. **introrsus:** "on the inside," *i.e.,* behind the first line of defenders.

9. **Id consul,** etc.: this long sentence is typical of the vividness of Livy's simple narrative: notice the logical order in which the ideas are presented so that the picture is built up step by step from Quinctius' first feeling of resentful anger to the word of advance.

summam: a noun: "the sum total," or "outcome."

quod: the antecedent is *belli.*

momentis: "influence."

11. **tabulato:** "flooring;" English uses the plural, floors.
sub signis: "in battle line."

13. **densitate clipeorum:** the abstract statement emphasizes the close compactness of the line of shields.

14. **quam:** equivalent to *aliquam, sc. hastam.*

15. **ad hoc:** adverbial, "besides." *et* and *nec* are correlative.
ex longo spatio: a much compressed phrase meaning from one spot to another far distant; translate: "for any great distance."

17. **ruentis:** sc. *turris.*
praebuerit: both *speciem* and *trepidationem* are objects.

XVIII: 1. **parum:** equivalent to a negative.
fieri patiebatur: presumably by himself: "allowed himself to compare."

4. **versa:** because it was not directly on the gulf but at the head of a deep bay opening on it.

5. **ab tergo:** Aetolia and Acarnania are only roughly behind Anticyra but would protect the rear of the Roman position. The advantage of being near the Peloponnese was diplomatic, resulting from the hope of winning the Achaean League. Locris and Boeotia were at least cool toward Philip; it was chiefly their weakness that kept them nominally subservient.

6. **Phocidis:** partitive genitive with *Phaneteam.*
oppugnando: dative of the gerund: indirect object after *praebuit.*

7. **receptae:** evidently by surrender.

8. **impetum:** implying a successful attack.

9. **ducem:** Amynander: cf. **XIV:** 7, 8.

ACHAEANS CONSIDER ALLIANCE WITH ROME

XIX: 2. **Cycliadan:** cf. XXXI, **XXV:** 9, as also for *praetor* used for the Greek term *strategos.*

4. **ratus est:** subject is *Quinctius.*

6. **Nabis:** tyrant of Sparta: cf. XXXI, **XXV:** 3. Sparta was anti-Macedonian.

7. **veteribus:** *i.e.,* his help against Nabis (cf. XXXI, **XXV:** 4).
recentibus: *i.e.,* his restitution of certain cities (cf. **V:** 4).

8. **ad tempus:** "for the time being:" his present friendly attitude.
aestimantes: *sc. eum.*

9. **neque solum,** etc: their political attitude at home in their local senates, or in the semi-annual council of the League, is contrasted with their own personal and individual wishes.

pro sententia dicerent: "state as their vote."

10. **satis constabat:** "was very clear."

XX: 2. **utrimque:** goes directly with *promendo* and *admonendo,* which are ablatives of means.

3. **certamina animorum:** "struggles of intellects," "arguments."

circulis: "informal gatherings."

manibus temperatis: "you refrain from violence."

4. **referant:** "put the question before you."

5. **studia:** "political feelings."

7. **non modo . . . sed ne . . . quidem:** see A. & G. 217.e. The sense is especially easy here, as *quisquam* is regularly used in a universal negative: see A. & G. 311, 312.

XXI: 1. **non vult:** *sc. dicere:* "speak to a resolution of public moment."

nunc: as regularly, after a condition contrary to fact, means "as it is," introducing the real fact in contrast with the hypothesis.

3. **perinde ac:** the full expression is *perinde ac si.*

e re sua: "to their own interest."

5. **iuris iurandi:** cf. **V:** 4.

9. **religionem iniciebat:** "tried to inspire reverence."

non modo, etc.: cf. **XX:** 7, note.

10. **priore anno:** see XXXI, **XXV:** 2 ff. The chronology is careless.

12. **conveniens inter se:** "consistent."

prioris belli: 214-205 B.C. The peace concluded in 205 was not unfavourable to Philip, largely because the Romans were in the throes of their war with Carthage.

21. **Ne sint,** etc.: the subjunctives that follow, down to *num id postularet,* are concessive in force. Granting, he says, every possible argument to the side of Philip, alliance with him is impossible, the conclusion taking the form of a rhetorical question.

in terra Attica: cf. XXXI, **XXX:** 1 ff.

22. **Ciani:** cf. **XXXIII:** 16.

Abydeni: cf. XXXI, **XVII:** 1 ff.

23. **Aratum:** the founder of the greatness of the Achaean League. He had been friendly with Antigonus Doson of Macedonia and with Philip, until he found the latter treacherous. Philip finally poisoned both father and son; the former died, the latter went mad.

25. **ne sit:** this subjunctive is slightly different from the preceding ones: it concedes an absolute impossibility and the con-

clusion, in the rhetorical question, is strictly the conclusion to this assumption only.

26. **postularet**: *i.e.*, would he, if the assumptions made above were facts.

27. **apertae**: carries out the *leviores*, "lighter ships, namely undecked."

Issaei: cf. XXXI, **XLV**: 10. The name was apparently transferred from the people to the type of light, fast ship.

scilicet: marks the irony of his statement: "I suppose."

28. **Dymas**: captured and put under an Aetolian guard by the Romans in 208 B.C.

31. **videlicet**: like *scilicet* above, marks the irony of tone.

32. **mare**, etc.: the answer to his ironical supposition.

dicionis: possessive genitive.

pepercisse: the tense looks forward to the time when the negotiations are complete.

committere . . . cur: more commonly, *committere ut*, and Caesar has *committere quare;* it means: "to act so that."

34. **praeterquam quod**: "outside of the necessity of;" *i.e.*, if we do not either reject or accept; in other words, if we try to remain neutral.

nusquam: with *gratia stabili* only.

36. **in libertatem vindicarent**: the slogan of Quinctius, freedom for the Greeks.

37. **sed**: "but at any rate."

oportet: practically, "must."

XXII: 2. **gentis**: of the League as a whole: cf. **XIX**: 9.

decem: fixed perhaps by the original number of cities in the League: the majority of these ten must agree to the putting of a question.

3. **esse**: historical infinitive.

suffragium: "chance to vote."

4. **in quem**: "for which," "in anticipation of which."

5. **ut vix**, etc.: anticipates the specific instance that follows.

7. **perditum iret**: for this use with an object, see A. & G. 509.n.1.

8. **referebant**: imperfect of intended action; A. & G. 471.c.

plures: six to four.

10. **memoria**: "within the memory of," "in the time of," is the regular meaning; but for 226 B.C., when the event occurred, *avorum memoria* is rather odd. Cf. XXXI, **XII**: 10.

Dymaeis, etc.: cf. **XXI**: 28. Philip had driven out the Aetolian guard left by the Romans.

XXIII: 2. **populi:** *i.e., Romani.* No Roman leader could make an alliance which was valid without the ratification of the people.

3. **exercitum . . . admoveri:** in view of the promise recounted in **XIX:** 4.

OPERATIONS AT CORINTH, ELATIA, AND ARGOS

4. **e regione:** "over against," "directly opposite." So Caesar uses the phrase.

fert: "leads."

partem: object of *oppugnabat,* a second object being understood with the Attalus clause.

alterius maris: *i.e.,* the Gulf of Corinth.

5. **omnes:** has strictly no verb: it is divided by the two nouns in apposition with it, each having its own verb.

9. **Hannibalis exercitu:** *i.e.,* Italians who had joined Hannibal and dared not return to Italy after his defeat.

navales socii: Italians, freedmen of the allied states, who had run away from service in the navy, which was not held in high repute.

desperata salus: "despair of any safety."

10. **Acraeam:** called also *Heraeum promuntorium:* cf. *Iunonis* of the present passage.

11. **Philocles:** cf. **XVI:** 12. He brought his troops from Chalcis in Euboea.

12. **Lechaeum:** from there the long walls gave access to the town of Corinth.

XXIV: 1. **Dum haec,** etc.: resumes the narrative from the end of **XVIII.**

2. **manu:** "power."

3. **quantum . . . erat:** forms a substantive, modified by *prorutum* and subject of *nudasset.*

XXV: 2. **primo:** not to be construed with *die* but adverbially: "at the beginning;" the elections would last only one day.

pronuntiare: "to call upon."

4. **iubentium:** *sc. praetoribus.*

5. **collem:** the acropolis, some seven hundred feet high.

9. **pactus a:** "made a compact with."

10. **creditae:** *sc. sibi.*

11. **Thraecibus:** cf. XXXI, **XV:** 11.

UPRISING OF SLAVES IN ITALY

XXVI: 1. **In Gallia,** etc.: mostly repetition from **IX:** 5.

sane memorabile: "at all noteworthy."

2. **habuisset**: the pluperfects are due to the fact that Livy goes back to resume what he has already said, and so the time of Aelius' arrival is antecedent to the point at which Livy now takes up the story.

3. **belli casibus**: *i.e.*, the Gallic inroads.

4. **quem ad modum . . . ita**: correlative like *sicut . . . ita* in XV: 9 and with the same force.

circa urbem: *i.e.*, in Latium, though at some distance from Rome.

prope: goes with *tumultus* only.

6. **ut**: "as was natural," "to be expected;" an extension of the adverbial use of *ut* illustrated in § 5.

7. **ea**: *sc. mancipia*, the two groups together.

prope diem: adverbial, "very soon."

8. **occupare . . . servitia**: this reading is conjectural, as the manuscripts have lost something from the text.

11. **sacramento rogatos**: "when the oath had been administered," or, "when they had been sworn in." *Sacramento* is ablative of means.

12. **milibus**: in apposition with *dilectu*, as is also *omnibus*.

13. **vestigarent**: the rest of the sentence is conjectural, the text being deficient in the manuscripts.

14. **gravis aeris**: translate, "asses;" refers to the old Roman unit of the heavy *as*.

17. **per vicos**: "throughout the wards."

circumire eas: the lesser magistrates, presumably the aediles, were to make regular rounds of the watches.

triumviri: the committee of three minor magistrates in charge of prisons and capital punishments.

carceris lautumiarum: the prison in the quarries, behind the Capitoline, distinguished from the Mamertine prison near the forum.

18. **nomen Latinum**: "the Latin allies."

ne minus: "not less than."

pondo: indeclinable.

AFFAIRS AT ROME

XXVII: 1. **quod Antiochus**: cf. VIII: 15.

2. **Masinissa**: cf. XXXI, XI: 10, where help was requested from him as an ally, and XXXI, XIX: 4, where his response is recorded.

4. **faenore**: *i.e.*, the lending of money at high rates of interest. This was extensively practised by Roman bankers in the provinces where government control was ordinarily slack.

cultum: "luxury."

5. **C. Cornelium Cethegum:** cf. **VII:** 14, he becomes consul without having been praetor.

6. **crescentibus:** the word would seem to mean that the provinces were growing in importance and in the difficulty of control; but the sense of the passage seems to imply growth in the number of provinces requiring praetors; and **XXVIII:** 2 indicates that, as a matter of fact, two praetors are sent to Spain to govern the hither and the farther provinces.

7. **Sergius:** great-grandfather of Catiline.

XXVIII: 2. **peregrina:** since the year 212 B.C. the praetorship which covered cases between citizens had been merged with that of which the jurisdiction was over foreigners. The increase in the number of praetors permits the return to the older method of having two praetors in the city.

Hispanias: hitherto private individuals with consular power had been sent to Spain; cf. XXXI, **XX:** 1.

3. **impedimento erant:** "interposed their veto;" *impedimento* is dative of purpose.

4. **prior consul:** "the retiring consul."

6. **maiorem partem:** hardly consistent with the statement in **IX:** 6. The whole argument is exaggerated though the point urged is good. The whole proposal was instigated by Quinctius himself through his friends; cf. **XXXII:** 7.

7. **prope:** "near the scene of activity;" cf. **XXXII:** 1.

8. **in senatus auctoritate:** cf. **VII:** 12.

9. **prorogarunt:** "extended."

11. **socium ac nominis Latini:** cf. XXXI, **VII:** 7, note.

terminare . . . qua . . . servaretur: "to establish the boundaries to be observed."

12. **legatos:** under Quinctius, to whom their experience would be extremely valuable.

XXIX: 1. **Summani:** a rather vaguely comprehended god who controlled nocturnal lightnings.

3. **C. Atinius:** Livy seems to be anticipating a little, for C. Atinius is still tribune in 196 (see XXXIII, **XXV:** 6) and could not have entered office before December, 197.

coloniae: these are colonies of Roman citizens with full rights. All the localities are on the coast of Campania except Buxetum, which is further south in Lucania.

THE CONSULS INVADE GAUL

6. **recta via:** by the Flaminian Way to Ariminum, then on into Gaul by the Aemilian Way, which led past the Cenomanni,

who were between Cremona and Verona, to the Insubres, around Milan.

in laeva: *sc. parte.* Livy is thinking of the trip to Gaul, and so facing north with his mind's eye.

7. **Clastidium:** ordinarily reckoned as being in Gaul; cf. **XXXI:** 4.

Boios: a pretty large exception, for the tribe filled most of the Gallic territory south of the Po and north of the Apennines, from Parma to the coast.

XXX: 2. **ita:** explained by *coniunctis . . . gesturos,* and not correlative with *ut* which introduces a clause of purpose, giving the reason for the action, *iunxerat se.*

5. **infra:** *i.e.,* down the river.

7. **principibus:** evidently the active leaders in the field.

8. **quidem:** emphasizes the *id* to such an extent as to show its contrast with something that he did gain, namely, the following *id.*

9. **rem totam:** "the whole engagement."

10. **aedem:** dedicated three years later.

compotem voti: "the recipient of his wish."

11. **quidam . . . auctores sunt:** Livy cannot accept this account, as he has already disposed of Hamilcar (XXXI, **XXI:** 18), but he notes it again later in describing Cornelius' triumph (XXXI, **XXIII:** 5).

XXXI: 1. **receperant sese:** *sc. Boii.*

castris se tenuit: instead of scattering his forces.

3. **hosti:** dative of reference; they changed the Roman's plan, as explained in what follows.

4. **Clastidium:** there is confusion here: the town had surrendered (**XXIX:** 7), but Livy was not clear about it, placing it in Liguria. Furthermore there was some doubt about the disingenuousness of Minucius' reports: see XXXIII, **XXII:** 9.

PEACE CONFERENCE WITH PHILIP

XXXII: 1. **Hiems iam:** reverting to the Greek story left at **XXV:** 12. This makes an awkward transition, for the winter is that of 198-197, whereas Livy has just carried the Gallic campaign at least into the summer of 197.

Opunte: less than twenty miles east of Elatia.

3. **exclusis Aetolis:** although the Romans and the Aetolians were on friendly terms, the aristocracy prefers to accept the help of Rome. Both factions were presumably revolting against Philip.

6. **non quin**: "not but that." The expected clause in contrast with this and explanatory of *gravate*, namely, that he would have chosen under ordinary circumstances to have completely conquered Macedonia, is missing. Other ideas coming in upset the logical progress of the sentence.

per se: the emphasis is on these words. Quinctius wishes the credit for ending the war one way or the other.

9. **manenti, decedenti**: equivalent in force to conditions.

11. **Cycliadas**: cf. **XIX**: 2.

Amynander: cf. XXXI, **XXVIII**: 1.

Agesimbrotus: cf. XXXI, **XLVI**: 6.

12. **Aristaenus**: cf. **XIX**: 2.

16. **sit**: the subjunctive is used because Quinctius does not admit the hypothesis.

Philippus et Phaeneas: subjects of *est*. The idea is: the danger from perfidy may be equal, but the result of the perfidy would not be, as he goes on to explain.

XXXIII: 5. **verum**: "proper."

Nicephorium: a sacred grove near Pergamum.

6. **Peraeam**: in south-western Asia Minor; this and the three following towns are not far apart.

7. **Sesto, Abydo, Perinthum**: the demands with regard to these cities and the markets and ports of Asia are made purely for commercial reasons, not because Rhodes had any claim on them. But she was the great trading republic and stood out for the freedom of commerce.

10. **quo**: "because;" a comparatively uncommon usage.

14. **priore anno**: cf. chapter **XIII**; it was really in this same calendar year, but the year's fighting is over and past.

15. **Lysimachiam**, etc.: distant coast cities that had been allied to Aetolia and one by one had fallen to Philip who claimed them as Macedonian.

XXXIV: 2. **verti**: "hinge."

3. **dicacior**: "more sarcastic."

risu: probably a dative, as that is the more frequent case after *tempero;* cf. **XX**: 3, where there is also a question between the dative and the ablative.

4. **Agraeos**, etc.: The Amphilochi are reckoned barbarians by Thucydides, but the Greek stock of the other two is not elsewhere questioned.

5. **dempta**: equivalent to: "without."

contrariae acies: the Aetolians had frequently hired out as mercenaries, so that this was probably literally true.

6. **Prusiam**: king of Bithynia.

8. **comparebunt:** "will be found."

10. **quoniam,** etc.: another example of his sarcasm: "since you will have *kings* make such petty requests and answers."

13. **iisne urbibus:** *sc. solis.*

XXXV: 2. **placuerat:** *sc. eis:* "they had decided on."

nullus: more effective than *non.*

4. **de industria:** "intentionally;" cf. *de integro,* XXXI, **VI:** 5; *per iram,* XXXI, **X:** 3, etc.

12. **nulli omnium:** these words go together, as do *partium destinatio.*

XXXVI: 6. **hieme instante:** cf. **XXXII:** 1. The expression, however, should not be taken too literally.

8. **singulos:** "one each."

10. **speciem:** "glamour."

XXXVII: 1. **cetera:** this proleptic use of *cetera* throws the emphasis strongly onto the exceptional part to follow, the effect being that of a concessive clause.

3. **eius:** seems to have nothing to which to refer. Livy is very sketchy here; the *eius* refers to Greece as a whole.

5. **incidit:** "cut short;" from *incīdo.*

mandati: genitive of the whole.

Quinctio: who has shown himself distinctly a politician as well as a general.

FINAL EVENTS OF YEAR IN GREECE

XXXVIII: 2. **Achaiae urbibus:** *i.e.,* from those which remained with him.

diversae: *i.e.,* far distant.

fiduciariam: "a deposit;" to be held and eventually returned to the depositor.

victori: equivalent in force to a condition.

accidisset: *sc. Philippo.*

5. **aspernatos, abominatos:** *sc. esse.*

9. **rogationes:** "proposals;" he pretends to leave power to the people.

tabulis novis: a wiping out of debts, beginning accounts over again on new tablets. This and the redistribution of land would make solid his position with the masses.

novantibus res: "revolutionists."

XXXIX: 3. **eo quoque praesidio:** cf. **XIX:** 1: this is the fixed policy of Quinctius.

6. **Mycenica**: *sc. regio:* the district of the famous old city of Mycenae, long since destroyed.

8. **regi**: dative of reference.

9. **unus ex purpuratis**: "one of his courtiers;" cf. XXXI, **XXXV**: 1.

10. **bellum cum Achaeis**: cf. XXXI, **XXXV**: 3.
impetratae: "granted."

XL: 2. **se defenderet**: like *argueret*, goes with *cum;* the *se* goes with *defenderet* and also with *accitum* (*sc. esse*).
abnuere: probably with a vague sense of a verb of saying (e.g., *se abnuere dixit*); a single historical infinitive in this succession of finite verbs would be even more unusual than this paragraph is as it stands. Livy probably wishes to represent the give and take of rather unrestrained conversation.
praesidiis: the same as are referred to as *Lacedaemoniis* in the next line.

4. **discessum**: *sc. est*.
Cretensibus: probably mercenaries.

7. **temptandum**: with more "diplomacy."
Acarnanum: it was a favourable time to approach them while Philip was weak, for their position was pretty well isolated.

BOOK XXXIII

QUINCTIUS TAKES THEBES BY A TRICK

I: 1. **Boeotorum**: these people had a loose confederation of cities with Thebes at the head.

veris: this brings the Greek narrative up to the point at which the Gallic campaign described in XXXII, **XXIX**: 5 ff. began, the spring of 197 B.C.

2. **unius signi**: "of a single maniple;" literally, "under a single standard."

5. **adpropinquaret**: subject is *imperator Romanus*.

velut: equivalent to *velut si;* cf. XXXI, I: 1. His politic waiting for the crowd to come out was evidently successful.

consequerentur: "catch up."

6. **ante . . . acta**: "driven in a crowd before the lictors;" *lictorem* is collective. The officials (evidently federal) are anxious to do all that the Romans expect; hence the later suspicions of the people of Thebes that the federal head has tricked them.

hospitium: translate as if it were an adjective agreeing with *imperatorem:* "the commander waiting to receive them."

8. **Boeotis**: to take action for the whole federation, not for Thebes alone.

ATTALUS STRICKEN. BOEOTIANS JOIN QUINCTIUS

II: 2. **senior**: he had been king for forty-four years.

contentionem: "the effort."

3. **captum**: "paralyzed."

4. **quae Achaeis**: cf. XXXII, **XXI**: 1 ff.

9. **ea**: "those districts."

in Philippum: the diplomatic policy of Quinctius, following his military stroke, has stripped Philip of his supporting allies of importance south of Thessaly, with the exception of Chalcis and Corinth, two strategically important points.

PREPARATIONS OF PHILIP AND QUINCTIUS

III: 2. **nihil pacati**: "no terms of peace;" cf. *nihil reliqui* and similar uses of the genitive of the whole with adjectives.

in: "in view of;" cf. XXXI, **XLVI**: 11.

multas aetates: ever since the beginning of the careers of Philip II. and Alexander the Great.

4. **et tirones . . . et quidam**: Philip has the task of making a new army out of his old one, plus raw recruits and discharged veterans called back to the colours.

5. **Dium**: not far from the coast in the south-eastern corner of Macedonia.

exercendo: "training," especially of the new recruits. Dium was at a safe distance from the probable seat of action and yet near enough to enable him to move into Thessaly when he should hear of Quinctius' start.

6. **opperiebatur**: rather waited for the enemy to move, than waited to meet him.

7. **Heracleam**: just above the pass of Thermopylae; a member of the Aetolian League. The accusative is used because of the motion implied in the assembling of the council; cf. XXXI, **XXXIX**: 3.

9. **expectasset**: "had been waiting for."

10. **transgresso**: *sc. eo:* indirect object after *se coniunxere.*

Cretensium: probably the contribution from Nabis (cf. XXXII, **XL**: 4), though somewhat shrunken in numbers.

Apolloniatae: from the Illyrian city of Apollonia.

haud dispari armatu: the Cretans were famous bowmen.

12. **quae, quibusque**: the two elements of the situation are balanced in the following sentences.

IV: 1. **ad Aoum**: cf. XXXII, **XII**: 4 ff.

Atracem: cf. XXXII, **XVII**: 4 ff.

4. **caetratorum, peltastas**: for this distinction between the Roman and the Greek name and for the characteristics of the *caetrati,* cf. XXXI, **XXXVI**: 1.

par numerus: defined by *bina milia,* to show that each of these contingents equalled the *caetrati* in number.

6. **tantum**: limits *copiis* only.

quod: "because;" the usage of *accedo* prevents the interpretation of *tantum . . . quod* as correlative in use here.

V: 1. **prodi**: the present is hard, but it seems to imply that the hope was that Timon was already showing treachery.

2. **ni . . . subvenisset**: as though the implication in *periculum* was actually expressed: e.g., and would have suffered seriously.

3. **quidem**: as usual, anticipates the contrast to come, in this instance introduced by *ceterum.*

4. **vallum**: collective: stakes for the *vallum.*

5. **usum**: practise of building.
ferendi: *i.e.*, from place to place as they moved camp.
7. **recte**: "easily."
summum: "at most;" adverbial.
8. **portae instar**: "what amounted to a gate."
9. **cum plurimum**: an abbreviated phrase; translate, "at most."
apte: "comfortably."
10. **palmae**: "branch."
stipes: "trunk."
12. **unus**: *sc. vallus.*

BATTLE OF CYNOSCEPHALAE

VI: 4. **utrimque**: *i.e.*, from both the Macedonian and the Roman armies.
5. **occurrisset**: *sibi* makes evident the object understood.
6. **quidem**: as in **V**: 3 and regularly, indicates a contrast to follow, in this instance without an adversative conjunction.
non minimum: colloquial: cf. *summum,* **V**: 7.
7. **ut**: cf. XXXII, **XXVI**: 5.
8. **ex praedicto**: "by agreement;" *praedicto* is a substantive. For this sort of compound adverb, cf. *de industria,* XXXII, **XXXV**: 4.
Scotusam: about ten miles to the westward of Pherae, south of the range of hills called Cynoscephalae.
hosti: dative of reference.
9. **agmina**: cognate accusative.
10. **Eretriam**: still south and east of the Cynoscephalae ridge, while Philip is to the north of it. The second day both armies work around the ridge, converging on Scotusa.

VII: 3. **supergressi tumulos**: he was passing over the western end of the ridge, but from **VIII**: 9, seems to have gone back and encamped on the northern side. Perhaps Livy misunderstood his source.
ibi: *i.e.*, on the ridge.
4. **ut**: cf. **VI**: 7.
10. **utcumque**: "no matter how."
indefensae: equivalent in force to a conditional clause.

VIII: 1. **nuntiata**: *sc. regi,* from which is understood the object of *perpulit* below.
4. **quos ad Epiri fauces**: cf. XXXII, **XII**: 1 ff.
5. **quos P. Sulpicii,** etc.: cf. XXXI, **XXXIX**: 7 ff.
7. **cum . . . cornu dextro**: "the right division of the phalanx;" the left comes after with Nicanor.

8. **prope cursu:** "almost on the run:" cf. XXXI, **XXIV:** 2.
purpuratis: cf. XXXI, **XXXV:** 1; XXXII, **XXXIX:** 8.

9. **ut in iugum evasit:** indicating that he came from the north side of the ridge; cf. **VII:** 3, note.

13. **dextero in cornu:** i.e., of the division of the phalanx which he was leading, carelessly called *phalangem* in the next line. The *caetrati* too would be on the wing, next to the phalanx division proper.

hastis positis: an odd error by Livy, which he tries to bolster up by the explanation that follows. As a matter of fact, he misunderstood his source, Polybius, who speaks of their dropping their spears from the upright position in which they carried them on the march. In **X:** 3, they have their spears again as they should, and are raising them again, this time in surrender, to indicate that they are through fighting.

14. **dimidium . . . duplicat:** literally: "half the line taken from the front doubled [the line] by the ranks stretched out in depth;" translate: "he made the line half as long and twice as deep." The arrangement refers to the phalanx division only.

longa: "deep."

densari: "to close up."

IX: 2. **exortus:** *sc. esse.*

quique . . . veniebant: the left division of the phalanx under Nicanor.

tum maxime: "just then."

3. **dextero cornu:** again for the right division of the phalanx under Philip himself.

plurimum: "chiefly."

sinistro: like *laevo* in **VIII:** 3: "on the left [wing]."

tum cum maxime: "at precisely that moment."

phalangis parte: left to come on with Nicanor (**VIII:** 8); therefore *quae . . . fuerat* with a genitive of quality.

4. **media acies:** the phalanx being in two divisions, it is hard to see what the center could be. Livy may be thinking of the *caetrati* phalanx division and its light armed right wing, but more probably he has fallen into confusion by trying to describe the unfamiliar Macedonian formation in Roman terms. Cf. **XVIII:** 18.

spectaculo: after *intenta* and limited by *pugnae.*

5. **phalanx, quae venerat:** the same body as that referred to by *phalangis parte* above: Nicanor's division.

6. **in dextro cornu:** a mistake, for the meaning is clearly the Roman left.

impetum facit: *i.e.,* with the legionaries that he at first held back as reserves (**VIII:** 3).

8. **signorum**: "maniples."

10. **gravis atque immobile**: even more so after the rearrangement described in VIII: 14.

nec . . . nec: correlative in spite of the change of subject.

hoc: *i.e., circumagere se.*

qui: equivalent to *ii qui.*

referentes: the unusual present participle for past time heightens the effect of rush and confusion.

11. **ultro**: "on their own part."

per procliva: "down the [southern] slope."

in medio: *i.e.*, between the two attacking forces.

X: 2. **signis atque armis**: *sc. Romanis.*

5. **omissam . . . vellet**: dependent on *ignaris.*

8. **Valerio**: *i.e.*, Q. Valerius Antias. He and Q. Claudius Quadrigarius are two of the Roman annalists whom Livy used as sources. They drew on the record of events by years kept by the pontifices. See Introduction.

10. **Polybium**: Cf. XXX, XLV: 5 and Introduction.

FRICTION BETWEEN THE AETOLIANS AND QUINCTIUS

XI: 1. **commentarios**: "records."

3. **veniam**: "safe conduct."

5. **expertes esse**: *sc. se.*

6. **exhauserint, vertat**: both verbs are after *ut*, making the clauses syntactically coördinate, but logically the first is concessive.

7. **imminere**: "was intent upon."

8. **animi**: descriptive genitive.

aviditatem praedae: cf. X: 6.

9. **habendos**: *i.e.*, if he did not prevent it. They were the strongest power left and the most arrogant.

XII: 1. **advocavit**: the subject is Quinctius.

2. **rettulit**: "put to them the question."

3. **qui pauca praefati**: seems to be explained by *recte . . . consilia*, which is in apposition with *pauca;* then *falli* begins the indirect statement of their main plea, with a verb of saying in the present tense understood. Possibly *aiunt* should be read for *autem.*

5. **negare**: historical infinitive.

7. **praeter**: "over and above."

9. **victos**: contrasted with *armato*, implying the laying down of arms.

12. **inquit**: *sc. Quinctius.*

PEACE CONFERENCE

XIII: 2. **frequens:** implies that representatives of all the allies were present at this council.

3. **potius . . . quam . . . extorquerentur:** A. & G. 571, a; the full expression would be a result clause with *ut*, but the *ut* is pretty regularly omitted.

6. **Pharsalum,** etc.: cf. the demands of Alexander at the previous peace conference (XXXII, **XXXIII:** 16), and Philip's answer at that time (XXXII, **XXXV:** 11).

8. **nam eas:** according to **V:** 3, Thebes had not been captured and the point seems to be that the people had signified their desire to remain under Macedonia and could not therefore be regarded as Aetolians, held against their wills by Philip.

9. **quae . . . habuissent:** a specious argument, for they had not been taken from Aetolia during this war but years earlier.

11. **pacem fecistis:** cf. XXXI, **XXXI:** 18. The agreement had never been renewed.

12. **Thessaliae civitates:** this would refer to the others than Thebes which had not come into the alliance with Rome at all. The whole argument, however, is chiefly interesting as an indication of the growing ill feeling between the Aetolians and the Romans, perhaps fostered by Quinctius in pursuance of the Roman policy of not letting any state become too powerful.

15. **receptum est:** "agreed," with the suggestion that this was a condition accepted by the Roman.

ACHAEANS VICTORIOUS AT CORINTH

XIV: 2. **pro arce:** "as a bulwark." Corinth was one of the three "fetters" of Greece (cf XXXII, **XXXVII:** 3) and in many ways the most important, dominating as it did the communication by land between the Peloponnese and Greece proper.

3. **pro obsidibus:** remarkable precaution since Corinth was already strongly pro-Macedonian (cf. XXXII, **XXIII:** 5). This action must date back to the spring.

4. **mille Macedonum,** etc.: these forces, spared by Philip when he was in great need of troops, show the importance which he attached to Corinth and also the success of Quinctius' policy of separating him from his allies.

7. **Pellenensem,** etc.: the towns which gave names to these districts were in Achaea within a radius of fifteen miles from Corinth.

8. **circumvecti:** "sailed about."

10. **Apelaurum:** in north-eastern Arcadia.

12. **opperiebatur**: used absolutely, although it is just possible that *specularentur* is used absolutely and the clause, *quam . . . sese*, is dependent on *opperiebatur*.

XV: 2. **et omnes equites**: also divided, some going with each of the three bands.

6. **castris**: *i.e.*, where Androsthenes and half his army were, with many of the men scattered through the neighbourhood foraging.

7. **trepidare**: historical infinitive.

ut: cf. **VI**: 7.

quidem: emphasizes Cleonae, which was a particularly strong defensive position.

9. **ceterae copiae**: anticipating a contrast, unsupported by a conjunction, with *Macedones* two lines below.

15. **ex discursu**: "from the confusion."

ACARNANIA TO ITS MISFORTUNE SIDES WITH PHILIP

XVI: 3. **Leucadem**: the town rather than the island.

duo principes et magistratus: evidently Archelaus, Bianor, and Zeuxidas named below (§ 5).

privatum: "unofficial," perhaps to be ratified later. This interpretation is not contradicted by §§ 4 and 11; and certainly *privatum* cannot mean "secret," which would be ridiculous in view of the divided feeling.

4. **in hoc fremitu**: "in the midst of this grumbling."

6. **cederent**: representing an imperative form in direct discourse.

tempori: "to the situation."

XVII: 2. **legatum Flamininum**: this is L. Quinctius, brother of the consul, T. Quinctius. Cf. XXXII, **XVI**: 2, *et al.*

Heraeum: the temple of Hera, evidently outside the town.

4. **pacati nihil**: cf. **III**: 1; translate: "no yielding."

5. **Acarnania universa**: cf. *Gallia est omnis divisa.* Acarnania is triangular and therefore bounded by Livy only on the north, east, and southwest.

mare Siculum: that part of the Mediterranean south of Italy.

spectat: as though shut in by the other countries on the land side.

6. **tum**: an error; the canal was built when Leucas was founded.

occidentis regione: "in the west" (*i.e.*, of *Acarnania universa*).

7. **longae**: east and west, from the island to the mainland.

in iis angustiis: hardly true, but Leucas was just inland from this neck.

adplicata: "on the slopes of."

8. **quo . . . dividitur**: not necessarily contradictory with § 6, for the Mediterranean Sea divides Europe from Africa with or without the Suez Canal, and Leucas would spread beyond the narrow confines of the isthmus.

terrenus: *i.e.*, not rocky.

11. **ab arce**: *i.e.*, from the point of view of the besieged; translate: "into the citadel."

12. **tamen**: in spite of the disadvantage at which they were placed by his treachery.

14. **in medio**: cf. **IX**: 11.

RHODIANS DEFEAT MACEDONIANS IN ASIA MINOR

XVIII: 1. **inclinante**: used regularly of a favourable turn of fortune, and so here the point of view is that of the allies rather than that of Philip; this is borne out by the *quoque . . . Rhodii quoque.*

vindicandam: "reclaiming;" Philip had taken it from them in 201 B.C.

possessam a maioribus suis: this does not imply that it had been long out of their power. (Philip had held Peraea but four years.) It emphasizes rather the length of time that they had previously held it. Cf. the reference to Peraea in XXXII, **XXXIII**: 6; *vetustae eorum dicionis.*

3. **Galli**: from Galatia in northern Asia Minor; the *Pisuetae* are from Caria, the next three contingents from Africa, and the Laodiceans from Asia Minor.

4. **Tendeba**, etc.: all are towns of Caria of which Peraea is the southern district.

5. **id ipsum**: *i.e.*, this particular service in Peraea.

supervenerunt: *i.e.*, in addition to the eight hundred of § 2.

6. **inde**: presumably after recapturing Tendeba. The Rhodians seem to have steadily withdrawn toward the north-west on Alabanda, a strong position on the Marsyas River.

7. **multifariam**: "in many places."

9. **Agrianas**: a Macedonian tribe.

10. **circumdat**: "places outside the wings."

11. **circumiectum**: *sc. est;* agrees with the nearest substantive, but goes also with *auxilia* and *equites*. For translation, cf. *circumdat*, above.

13. **terna milia**: some eight hundred must have been held in reserve: cf. §§ 2 and 5.

14. **paribus**: to be taken with *numero* and *genere*, as well as with *animis*.

15. **prope cursu**: cf. VIII: 7.

16. **numero**: "presently."

17. **veluti**: goes with *stipata* only: "as if jammed together."

18. **laevo latere nudato**: the middle section of the Carians seems to be lost. The difficulty, as in the account of Cynoscephalae, comes from the attempt to describe the Macedonian formation with its two divisions in terms of the Roman with its three. Cf. IX: 4, note.

22. **inde**: temporal.

Antiochum: cf. XXXI, XIV: 5.

haec . . . gesta: covers the events of this thirty-third book up to this point; *haec in Acarnania* might have been included.

PHILIP SUPPRESSES REVOLT IN THE NORTH

XIX: 1. **Dardanos**: a people of southern Moesia, bordering on Macedonia.

2. **toto orbe terrarum**: a trifle exaggerated, but Philip had certainly been unfortunate on all sides.

3. **tristius**: agrees with the substantival *pelli*.

Paeoniae: a district of northern Macedonia.

5. **Thessalonicam**: on the Thermaic Gulf, near Pella, the capital of Macedonia.

ANTIOCHUS ADVANCES ON ASIA MINOR

6. **non tam**, etc.: cf. XXXI, V: 1.

8. **priore aestate**: 198 B.C.

Coele Syria: on the death of Alexander the Great, the Seleucid dynasty gained control of Syria, including most of Asia Minor and all of Alexander's conquests between the Mediterranean and India. The Ptolemies received Egypt. But the first Ptolemy wrested from the Seleucids the land between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, which was retained by his successors. The northern part of this territory, except for the seacoast strip of Phoenicia, was called Coele Syria, though this name had originally been given only to the upper valleys of the Orontes and Leontes rivers.

Antiocheam: near the mouth of the Orontes.

9. **veris**: *i.e.*, 197 B.C.

10. **Sardibus**: in western Asia Minor.

cercurisque ac lembis: the exact nature of these two types of boat and the distinction between them is not known.

11. **in dicione Ptolomaei**: the possession of the south coast of Asia Minor was contested by Philip, the Rhodians, and Ptolemy, though the Egyptian claim was scarcely pressed, Philip was in distress, and Rhodes was the champion of Greek Liberty.

ANTIOCHUS YIELDS TO RHODIAN DEMANDS

XX: 1. **Multa**, etc.: the apparent irrelevance and vagueness of this statement lends emphasis to the particular statement following.

2. **regem**: *i.e.*, Antiochus.

Chelidonias: small islands opposite the south-eastern point of Lycia. Livy puts the islands for the peninsula and Cilicia (really farther east) for Lycia.

foedere antiquo: the peace of Cimon (449 B.C.) stipulated that the Persians (Artaxerxes I. was then Great King) should not send ships of war west of the Chelidoniae.

3. **liberantibus Graeciam**: Quinctius' slogan of liberty for Greece had evidently taken hold.

4. **Coracesium**: on the coast just westward from Cilicia. The other places named are on the Cilician coast.

superato Anemurio: "when he had sailed by Anemurium."

recepto: goes with the names of all five Cilician towns.

6. **tenebat**: "delayed him."

7. **temperavit irae**: "checked any show of anger;" cf. XXXII, XX: 3.

8. **noxiae, fraudi**: "harmful," or "injurious:" datives of purpose; the repetition is for legal fulness without any essential distinction of meaning.

8. **nam**: explaining the *sociis*.

violaturum: *sc. esse:* infinitive after the verbal idea in *argumento*.

legationem: evidently in answer to the Roman embassy mentioned in XXXII, VIII: 15. Roman diplomacy had so far kept him from interfering.

11. **consilium obviam eundi**: cf. § 3, the latter part of which is probably referred to rather inaccurately by *illam alteram curam*.

Ptolomaei: cf. XIX: 11. Egypt had long held these cities nominally, but for some years had shown the greatest indifference toward them. Rhodes had no desire to save them for Egypt, but fought as the champion of Greek liberty.

13. **non operae est**: "it is not worth while," or: "there is

not time:" a colloquial phrase. The complete form, though less commonly used, is *non operae pretium est.*

vix sufficiam: *i.e.,* if I should give all the details of the events in Asia Minor.

DEATH OF ATTALUS

XXI: 1. **ab Thebis:** cf. II: 8.

2. **divitias:** the millions of Lysimachus, the seizure of which had been the foundation of Pergamum's independence.

nihil: too strong: Attalus was feudal lord of Pergamum with every regal attribute except the name.

3. **proelio uno:** in 240 B.C. The Gauls had been in Asia for about a generation.

5. **ad tertiam stirpem:** his son Eumenes succeeded him and was followed by *his* son Attalus who bequeathed the kingdom to Rome.

AFFAIRS IN SPAIN

6. **pace . . . perpetrata:** cf. **XIII:** 14; the senate had not agreed on the terms of peace.

9. **Sergio:** according to XXXII, **XXVIII:** 2, Sergius was *praetor urbanus,* and a separate *praetor peregrinus* was appointed for this year, Minucius. Sergius would naturally act for the consuls in their absence and the circumstances of the case perhaps led Livy to express himself as he does, forgetting that there was for this year a separate *praetor peregrinus.*

TRIUMPHS OF CORNELIUS AND MINUCIUS

XXII: 1. **consules Romam venerunt:** *i.e.,* from Gaul; cf. XXXII, **XXIX:** 5-XXXII, **XXXI:** 6.

aede Bellonae: cf. XXXI, **XLVII:** 6, note.

4. **depopulante . . . collega:** expresses the reason for *aversos esse.*

5. **fateri:** historical infinitive.

6. **nec illum:** *sc. valere.*

8. **cecidisse:** a verb of saying is implied after *nominabant,* or else the idea of saying is inherent in that verb itself.

9. **oppidorum,** etc.: cf. XXXII, **XXIX:** 7, 8. The *dicebantur* of that passage may indicate something as to the credibility of the statement; cf. also the later burning of Clastidium, one of the "conquered" towns (XXXI, **XXXI:** 4).

pignore: "proof."

XXIII: 2. **plerique etiam:** probably refers to the people of Cremona and Placentia only; it is the subject of the same verbs continued.

3. **exemptos:** *sc. esse:* "set free."

in Monte Albano: where was the temple of Jupiter Latiaris. The consul did not give up his *imperium* until he entered Rome. He was therefore free to do what he would within his assigned province, in this case Italy.

4. **in magistratu:** cf. XXXI, **XLIX:** 2. The commands were so often continued after the year of magistracy that this fact is especially mentioned.

5. **Hamilcarem:** cf. XXXII, **XXX:** 12, note.

6. **pilleatorum:** they wore the felt cap which a slave donned when he was set free.

7. **aeris, quingentos:** cf. XXXI, **XLIX:** 2, note.

argenti bigati: "of silver stamped with the *biga:*" *i.e.,* silver denarii with the device of the two-horse chariot on the face.

8. **erogatum ex aerario:** as his triumph was not authorized by the state, he of course bore the expense of it himself.

aequabat: *sc. collegae triumphum.*

AFFAIRS IN ROME

XXIV: 1. **triumphum:** singular because Cornelius' triumph only was official.

5. **extra urbem:** as coming from a king at war with Rome.

in aedem Bellonae: cf. **XXII:** 1.

7. **quorum:** the antecedent is *legati.*

leges: "terms."

adiectumque: evidently the consuls were to appoint the rest of the peace delegates.

8. **Cosanis . . . postulantibus:** more successfully now than in 199; cf. XXXII, **II:** 7.

9. **P. Cornelium, Ti. Sempronium:** the consuls of 219-218 B.C., that is at the beginning of the second Punic War. This regulation is aimed at those towns that had been faithless to Rome during the war.

XXV: 1. **in circo scaenaque:** *i.e.,* both circus games and dramatic performances were held.

totique ter: the entire games were three times repeated.

3. **multaticio:** fines for occupying public lands illegally, so that these three agrarian divinities are appropriate.

4. **Macedoniam:** according to XXXII, **XXVIII:** 9, Quinctius was to continue with proconsular power until a successor was appointed.

5. **tendebant**: "strove to bring about."

6. **obtinuisset**: "would have won out."

vellent iuberentne: the indirect form of the legal formula for putting the question to the people.

7. **in Capitolio**: before the temple of Jupiter, the regular place in which the tribunes convened the full assembly of the people to vote on a referendum.

uti rogas: the regular form of an affirmative vote, equivalent to the English "Aye." The full form would be *uti rogas fieri volo iubeo*. Cf. XXXI, **VIII**: 1, note.

8. **quo . . . laetarentur**: syntactically follows *effecit*.

11. **eodem**: *i.e.*, the same that he had with him.

videri: probably indirect discourse with *imperium* as subject, after the idea of saying implied in the preceding *iussus* (*sc. est*). Cf. XXXII, **XXVIII**: 9, for the prorogation of Quinctius' *imperium*.

XXVI: 3. **consules**: subject of *darent* in the subordinate clause after *decretum est*.

4. **videretur**: *sc. iis, i.e., consulibus.*

iique: *i.e., praetores.*

5. **quinto post anno**: there had never been real peace: cf. XXXI, **XX**: 6; XXXI, **XLIX**: 7; XXXVII, **VII**: 4. But there had been no regular war with consular armies.

6. **ierant**: *i.e., Hispani.*

8. **Feroniae in Capenati**: *sc. agro.* Feronia, the early Italian goddess, later identified with Juno, had a grove and temple at Capena, about twenty-five miles north of Rome.

ad Monetae: *sc. aedem.* Juno Moneta had a temple on the Capitoline hill.

frequentissima parte: from the Esquiline to the Forum, the wolf would go through the Subura; from the Forum he went south on the Via Tusca, by the depression in the Palatine Hill called Cermalus, and so through the Circus to the Porta Capena between the Aventine and the Caelian.

9. **maioribus hostiis**: cf. XXXI, **V**: 3, note.

XXVII: 1. **Blasio**: his name is given as Lentulus in XXXI, **L**: 11, and it is not absolutely clear which is right.

ovans: cf. XXXI, **XX**: 5.

2. **pondo**: indeclinable.

viginti milia: *sc. pondo.*

signati: *sc. argenti:* "minted," as contrasted with the unminted silver above.

denarium: genitive plural; these are presumably Spanish coins corresponding to the Roman denarii.

4. **fornices**: "arches."
foro boario: lies between the Forum and the Tiber.

TROUBLE IN BOEOTIA DURING THE WINTER

6. **sibi restituerentur**: not implying that they were now in the Romans' hands as prisoners, but that Quinctius was to urge Philip to send them back and at the same time to waive his own right of punishment.

7. **quam nulla**: translate: "how little," though the phrase is much more vivid: literally: "how no."
perinde atque: *sc. si.*

8. **Boeotarchen**: the magistrates of the League chosen by the separate member states. The present election was the one at Thebes: cf. **XXVIII**: 11.

10. **id**: refers to the election; *metum ceperunt* is in contrast with *id passi*, just as *in praesentia* and *in futurum* are in contrast, and the following rhetorical question explains the vague *metum* just as the content of *id* is determined outside the clause. The correlatives, *et . . . et*, mark the clauses as coincident.
quidnam se futurum esse: the question is rhetorical and hence in the infinitive, in spite of being in indirect discourse. The effect is as though *facio* were the verb: *quid se factum iri* would be equivalent in meaning: translate: "what would become of them."

XXVIII: 3. **mollibus viris**: "eunuchs."
Italici, Aetoli: it looks as though there had been collusion.
quiritatio: "shrieking;" this is the only occurrence of the word.

4. **ex ante indicto**: like *ex praedicto* (**VI**: 8), with the additional detail of the adverb limiting the *indicto* as though the verb form were really verbal in force.

5. **fremebant**: *i.e.*, the people in the theater.

8. **in eam partem**: "to that purpose."

9. **insontes**: those who had been with Brachyllis and were by this time caught; cf. § 6.

10. **argumento**: "proof."
conscientiam: "guilty conscience."
tamen: *i.e.*, although the slave testimony was unsubstantiated.

11. **eo . . . protraxit**: intentionally vague and paradoxical to excite interest in the following account.

12. **tolleret**: "do away with."

13. **copia**: "opportunity."

15. **de Pisistrato**: goes with *habitae* and with *sumptum est*. At Rome only slaves could be tortured.

supplicium: presumably death.

XXIX: 2. **in hospitiis**: the lodgings where the soldiers were put up for the winter.

hiberna: the district in which they quartered for the winter.

usus: "purpose."

4. **negotiandi**: the soldiers very often carried on business on a small scale while in winter quarters.

ferme: "commonly."

in commeatibus erant: "were on furlough."

5. **hostico**: *sc. agro*.

6. **egredi**: *coepit* is continued from the first clause.

8. **excusarent**: *cum* goes with this as well as with *fieret;* the contrast between the ideas of doing something and of simply arguing indicates that the relation between the two verbs is adversative.

12. **simul**: *sc. cum Romanis;* their willingness to join against the Boeotians in the event of their appeal failing, proved the ingenuousness of the appeal.

THE MACEDONIAN COMMISSION DECIDES ON TERMS OF PEACE

XXX: 1. **decem legati**: cf. **XXIV**: 7.

in has leges: "on these terms."

2. **Graecorum**: the Macedonians were never considered Greeks. This is really the preamble to the document, the statement of the general principle.

quae earum, etc.: beginning of the specifications, representing imperative demands on Philip in the direct discourse.

3. **traderet**: *i.e.*, for setting free.

Isthmiorum: the Isthmian games held by the Greeks near Corinth every other year in the first month of spring. The games were national in character, but presided over by the Corinthians.

deduceret et ex iis, etc.: another specification. The naming of the Asiatic towns is necessary for, while the general principle of freedom for all Greeks still held, the cities controlled by others than Philip (Antiochus, for instance, and Ptolemy) could not be included in the demands on Philip. Furthermore, this list includes Thasos and Perinthos, not in Asia.

4. **Prusia**: cf. XXXII, **XXXIV**: 6.
scribere: the construction becomes dependent on *placere*.
6. **versus**: "banks."
9. **adiectum**: *sc. esse*.
10. **Attalo absenti**: Livy would seem to have good ground for distrusting Valerius Antias, as Attalus was dead; cf. **XXI**: 1.

XXXI: 2. **carpebant**: "criticized."
adumbratas: "counterfeited," "falsified."
3. **ne nominatae quidem**: "without even having been named."
intercipiantur: same construction as *liberentur*.
5. **tempora**: "occasion."
rei publicae: dative of reference.
e re publica: "in accordance with the interest of the state."
6. **erat**: really means here: "was the reason for this provision."
8. **retundere**: "take the edge from."
10. **de libertate urbium**: *i.e.*, about their liberty in the abstract.
ipsis: *i.e.*, the cities themselves.
11. **retineri**: the first part of the decree was an order, this second part is a statement of fact.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FREEDOM OF GREECE AT THE ISTHMIAN GAMES

XXXII: 1. **Isthmiorum statum ludicrum**: "the fixed festival of the Isthmian games."
quidem: emphasizes *semper* which is reinforced by *et alias*, and finally contrasted with *tum* in § 3, the contrast marked by the adversative *vero*.
omnis generis: explained by the three genitives following: musical and literary, wrestling and boxing, racing.
2. **omnium rerum usus**: "all the necessities of life."
ministrantis: agrees with *loci*.
concilium: "the meeting place," "the clearing house."
3. **mercatus**: "market," for the Isthmian games were also a biennial international market.
usus: "purposes."
alia: object of *facturos, sc. esse*.
4. **carmine**: "regular formula."
5. **Locrensesque omnis**: *i.e.*, the three states of Locrians: the Ozolaean, the Epicnemidian, and the Opuntian.
6. **universum**: "all at once."

7. **credere**: historical infinitive.
8. **fidei**: dative after *credentes*.

XXXIII: 1. **cursu prope**: *cf.* XXXI, **XXIV**: 2.
tendere: the historical infinitive and the lack of conjunctions between *adire, contingere* and between *cupientium, iacientium,* help to carry out the picture of headlong rush.
2. **lemniscos**: "ribbons," on the crowns.
fuerit: Quinctius is the subject.
5. **esse aliquam**, etc.: the indirect quotation of the thoughts and conversations.
7. **iunctis**: like *propinquae vicinitatis,* limits *hominibus,* and is typical of the variety of expression which Livy sought.
8. **audacis animi**: "the mark of a bold mind."

FINAL DECREES AND ARRANGEMENTS BY THE COMMISSION

XXXIV: 1. **gentiumque**: "free peoples"; *i.e.,* without kings.
2. **quae Romae egerant**: cf. **XX**: 8.
3. **perplexe**: "ambiguously."
incolumi Philippo: ablative absolute.
5. **conventus civitatum gentiumque**: the free states of Greece seem to have been summoned all together. *Gentium* refers to racial divisions and evidently includes federations (which were formed somewhat along racial lines); *civitatum* refers to single centralized city states.
6. **Orestis**: a people in the western part of Macedonia, so that this is an actual cutting down of Macedonia's territory.
7. **genti**: *i.e.,* the race as a whole; the chief parts have been enumerated. Phthiotis is added to Thessaly, that is, to the rather loose Thessalian League.
9. **iis**: *i.e.,* to the Aetolian League.
10. **dabant**: "were for giving;" a conative imperfect.
11. **Pleurato**: of Illyrium; cf. XXXI, **XXVIII**: 1.
castella: cf. XXXII, **XIV**: 3.

XXXV: 1. **suae**: *i.e.,* of the region in his assignment.
2. **Bargylias**: in southern Asia Minor, Caria.
Hephaestiam: on the island of Lemnos.
3. **qui**: *i.e.,* Cornelius, subject of *suasit*.
7. **conventus**: evidently the old Amphyctionic Council, the nearest approach to a general assembly of Greeks, originally largely religious in character.
12. **supersedisset**: "had foreborne."

(Citations refer to first appearance)

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Ti. Sempronius Longus (tribunus) (XXXI, **XX**: 5)
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